

OPPOSITION
CONVENTIONS

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CAMPAIGN - 1860

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Abraham Lincoln's Political Career through 1860

Opposition Conventions

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

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UNION PARTY IN INDIANA.

In pursuance of a call made by A. H. Davidson, Chairman of the Executive Committee, a meeting of the General Committee of the Constitutional Union Party of Indiana, was held at Indianapolis on Thursday, the 12th inst.

On motion it was

Resolved, That we cordially approve of the call for a National Convention of the Constitutional Union Party, to be held at Baltimore on the 9th of May next, as made by the Chairman of the National American Executive Committee and the National Whig Executive Committee, and of the meeting recently held at Washington city, which was presided over by John J. Crittenden; and that we also approve of the principles enunciated in said call.

On motion, it was proposed to select delegates to attend the Baltimore Convention on the 9th of May next, which resulted in the choice of the following persons:

FOR THE STATE AT LARGE.

R. W. Thompson, of Vigo, and J. J. Hayden, of Ohio.

1st District—Samuel Hall, of Gibson;

2nd District—James Montgomery;

3d District—John W. Wright, of Switzerland;

4th District—Metellus Calvert, of Ohio;

5th District—John A. Bridgeland, of Wayne;

6th District—A. H. Davidson, of Marion;

7th District—Samuel S. Early, of Vigo;

8th District—Dr. M. Herndon, of Montgomery;

9th District—John P. Early, of Laporte;

10th District—John W. Dawson, of Allen;

11th District—To be filled.

On motion, the following gentlemen were selected as the Executive Central Committee:

1st District—Lewis, Howe of Vanderburgh;

2nd District—Dennis Gregg, of Floyd;

3rd District—J. D. Thomasson, of Lawrence;

4th District—J. J. Hayden, of Ohio;

5th District—to be filled;

6th District—A. H. Davidson, Chairman;

H. O'Neal, W. H. Wright, of Marion, and James L. Bradley, of Johnson;

7th District—Walter S. Cooper, of Vigo;

8th District—Dr. C. W. Prather, of Montgomery;

9th District—John P. Early, of Laporte;

10th District—J. McNutt Smith, of Allen;

11th District—To be filled.

On motion, the Executive Central Committee was invested with discretionary power as to the manner of forming an electoral State ticket.

The following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Resolved, That Judge McLean and John Bell be presented as our first choice, for President and Vice President, but that we will cordially support any conservative

national men who may be nominated by the Constitutional Union Convention, to be held at Baltimore on the 9th of May next.

The best of good feeling prevailed, and in the enthusiasm of the moment spirited speeches were made by Col. W. K. Edwards and others; after which, on motion, it was.

Resolved, That copies of the proceedings of this meeting be furnished the Indiana State Journal and Sentinel, Cincinnati Daily Times, and Louisville Daily Journal, for publication.

On motion, adjourned until called again by notice from the Chairman of the Executive Committee.

A. H. DAVIDSON.

Chairman Ex. Com.

J. J. HAYDEN, DENNIS GREGG,

Secretaries

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

Overwhelming Douglas Demonstration.

Mammoth Convention of the Democracy.

The New York Delegation to the Charleston Convention Sustained.

Speeches of Francis B. Cutting, Hon. Wm. A. Richardson, H. M. Waterson, Henry S. Foote, Judge Larabee and Thomas C. Fields.

The Douglas Banner Nailed to the Mast,

See, See, See.

The democracy of New York made a most imposing and powerful demonstration at the Cooper Institute last evening. Every corner and avenue of the spacious building was thronged with a listening and attentive crowd. The doors of the Institute were thrown open to the public at seven o'clock, and not long after immense crowds began to pour in until the hall was filled. The platform, as is usual on occasions of this kind, was splendidly decorated with national flags, and in front of the vestibule were three inscriptions. The one on the right was:—

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE UNION FOREVER.

That on the left was:—

THE PEOPLE'S CHOICE.

And in the centre:—

FOR PRESIDENT,
STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS.

The animation of the meeting gradually grew to a culminating point with the increase of the crowd, and when the band and principal speakers arrived the enthusiasm was very great.

Among the gentlemen present we observed Lieutenant Governor Klitbridge, of Vermont; ex-Attorney General Cushing, Col. Michael Doherty, Geo. Douglas, Dr. John R. Wadsworth, of No. 23 John street; Alderman Clancy, and a number of others.

Colonel STEPHENS called the meeting to order, and stated that he had been requested by the Committee of Arrangements to nominate Francis B. Cutting, Esq., as President of the meeting. The nomination met with unanimous approval, and Mr. Cutting accordingly took the chair, amid loud applause.

Mr. GEORGE MCLEAN then nominated the usual number of Vice Presidents, and Mr. R. B. CONNOLLY nominated the Secretaries. J. A. McMASTER, read the subjoined resolutions:—

Resolved, That the delegates from the State of New York to the Charleston Convention have well and truly responded to the trust committed to them, and to the overwhelming sentiment of the people of the State of New York, in casting their vote, from first to last, for Stephen A. Douglas, (loud and uproarious applause, and three cheers,) the champion of the equal constitutional rights of all the States, the firm friend of the Union, and the bold and fearless foe of abolitionism at the North, and of sectionalism at the South. (Renewed applause.)

Resolved, That "democratic principles are unchangeable, when applied to the same subject matters;" that the platform re-erected at Charleston, was reported at Cincinnati unanimously by the committee representing every State in the Union, was voted for by every delegate in that Convention, accepted and construed by the nomination, endorsed by the entire democracy of this nation by the election of those nominees, and that we hail in it the reaffirmation of the old landmarks that have given success to the democratic party, and peace and prosperity to our whole country. (Loud applause.)

Resolved, That we re-echo the announcement received by Judge Douglas at Cincinnati, when Mr. Buchanan received the vote of the majority of that Convention, that this "sanctified him to the nomination," as an example worthy of imitation, and calculated to give harmony and effect to democratic action. (Applause.)

Resolved, That the democracy of New York, devoted to the national organization of the democratic party, sincerely regret that the late delegates of a few States to the

Charleston Convention seceded from that body, and we heartily approve of the resolution of the Virginia delegation, adopted by the Convention, whereby the democracy of those States whose delegates seceded shall have an opportunity to fill the vacancies thus occasioned. (Applause.)

Resolved, That in the language of Judge Douglas, "this is the government of the white man,"—(applause)—therefore all efforts to establish for negroes political equality or citizenship, are alike in violation of the spirit of the constitution and the manifest meaning of the framers. (Applause.)

Resolved, That Stephen A. Douglas, in view of the action of the Charleston Convention, cannot now be sustained without the implied abandonment thereby of the well settled principles of the democracy regarding non-interference by Congress;—(loud applause)—and that, with him as our standard bearer, we confidently pledge the vote of New York that she will, next fall, fight herself in a bold democratic track by casting her thirty-five votes for Stephen A. Douglas. (Tremendous and continued applause.)

Each of the nominations, as well as the resolutions, were carried by acclamation.

Loud cries then arose for Colonel Richardson, of Illinois, and the audience appeared exceedingly desirous of hearing him.

SPEECH OF F. B. CUTTING.

Mr. CUTTING (the Chairman) then came forward, and said:—

GENTLEMEN—Before introducing to this meeting our honored and distinguished visitor, Colonel Richardson, of Illinois, I beg to offer a few remarks, which strike me as very forcible on this occasion. I must say, that in my humble judgment, we have reached the conjuncture in the affairs of the political parties of this country, which calls upon every man, however desirous he may be of retirement, to come forward and take his part in the public affairs of his country. (Applause.) Without designing or even desiring to detain you, I may be permitted to say that we need go back but a very short time in the history of political parties, within the recollection of men now living, to bring to mind that the force and strength and muscle, as well as the dependence of the democratic party had always rested, and were always to be found in the Northern portion of our Union. (Applause.) It was but a few years ago that upon the democratic party of the North the duty rested and devolved, and the duty was fulfilled, of sustaining the only national and united—the only constitutional and conservative party which existed in the country—(applause)—and at the same time an onward and progressive party. We, at that time, met with constant opposition from many States of the South. It is only necessary to call to recollection a few of them to bring to our minds the history of the past. Baltimore, Louisiana, Kentucky, and frequently Florida stood in the way of the success of our principles; and of the only national and constitutional party then existing, and which has ever existed in this country, always ready to sustain, and can sustain, the constitution and the Union. (Applause.)

But to-day, and for some years past, we look at the picture and see that everything has been reversed. Where, now, is New York, the former standard bearer of the great democratic party? Where is our noble and brilliant star of the East, the State of Maine, that always came up in her strength, brightly breaking through the clouds of the morning? Where is Connecticut, that always was to be found standing where the greatest difficulties arose? Where are the other States of the North, that could invariably be counted upon as firm supporters of the cause of right and the powers of a united people? Passed into the hands of another and an ignominious party, whose policy and whose designs have been clearly evidenced in the bloody raid of John Brown on the people of peaceful States—on the inhabitants of unarmed and unprotected States—on the quiet and unoffending people of a friendly State. The disastrous fruit of their governmental policy has been shown to be nothing but bitter enmity to the cause of law and order; for they have not hesitated to tear asunder all those personal and political ties that formerly bound together the North and the South. (Applause.) What is it that has led to this prostration of the great party of the North? Well, gentlemen, it is that we look upon ourselves at the North to fight and contest this sectional and local spirit of the day. In these combats we were defeated. We took upon ourselves the struggle and the brunt of the battle. We resisted manfully, but not successfully. We worsted our enemies often, and faded often; but we are still alive to-day, nearly equal to them in strength of numbers, and ready to renew the conflict whenever and wherever they may choose. (Loud applause.) Now, while we have been weakened in spirit in this great and structural struggle for the principles of right and justice, the South has stood by and has become vigorous, strong and consolidated, and at this moment is democratic from head to toe to the other. (Applause.) You therefore have a strong South capable of supporting the democratic cause with any respectable candidate. You have the democratic party of the North struggling for aid and existence, and it seems that our brethren of the South cannot refuse to unite with us, and give their warm support to the only candidate that can be sure of a triumph. Gentlemen, when an army that has stood all the fatigues and perils, and in fact, the whole brunt of the battle—when their bloody corpses have covered the field and their ranks are reduced by their heroic deeds, what should the other wing do? Should it weaken them more by locality and opposition, or should it not rather fall in, and help them on to victory? We call upon the South now to give us our standard bearer, and their standard bearer, our leader, the man of the hour. (Loud cheers.) We are ready to march into the contest and to achieve a mighty triumph, but we simply ask that we should be aided by the South, by placing our standard in the hands of our choice. (Applause.)

Now, I ask, where is the man of the hour? The South, who will refuse to give us the leader who is in the impending contest? (A voice, "We are determined to have Stephen A. Douglas.") And loud applause. I know that there are a great many individuals who would nobly and fearlessly bear our banner, but I ask, have been anything that has excited so much contradiction and uncertainty as the name, the conduct and the principles of Stephen A. Douglas? (Loud applause.) No, gentlemen, every man at the North and at the South, the East or in the West, ought to know that there is not a party that can support the Union and the constitution. The republican party exists but in one part of the country, and it is the clearest sense a national party. It is sectional because it opposes slave labor, which exists in one part of the country. Now, a national party, an antagonistic principle to a national party, which influences men in all parts of the country, concerning in a majority of views on all great national and constitutional questions. A great party like the national democratic party is greatly distinguished from a sectional party. Our success is certain if we be united, and where exists so clearly point out the certainty of a triumph, is the South to prevent it by saying that we shall not have the man whom we have chosen for our leader in the North, and who has been a leader in the South for many years. Who is three that they have presented whom we can accept? (A voice, "Governor Wise.") (Loud laughter.) Who are they able to agree upon? No one. With Douglas we can sweep the field. (Cries of "That's so.") More especially since the late act of the republican party, which has chilled the hearts and blasted the hopes of their best followers. The founder and apostle of that party has been sacrificed at the Chicago Convention to what no man can call anything but a mere expediency. ("That's so.") Shall Stephen A. Douglas be sacrificed to any expediency of that kind? (Cries of "No, no.") Shall the democratic party be sacrificed at Baltimore by taking away the man under whose lead we can march to certain victory. ("No, no.") Now, in the case of the delegation to Charleston we actively approve of the way in which they voted, and throughout, in the first and last, and beginning and end, we are for Stephen A. Douglas. (Loud applause.) But the object of this meeting is not merely to applaud the past action of our delegates, but to encourage and animate them to renewed action in the future, and to say that when they return to Baltimore in June next, they may declare that the democracy of New York, so far as we can speak for them—and it is known that the sentiments of the democracy of the city have always been a fair type of the sense of the entire State—that they expect that the democrats of New York will rally like one man to the support of Stephen A. Douglas. (Loud applause.) And I desire to add a word of caution and warning against the intrigues and iniquities of men having motives for their actions, and which are so difficult to be traced. We must be on our guard against all these evil influences and adversaries who under their false tongues carry the leprous distillation of their own factious desires. We must guard against them as we would against a wolf in the sheepfold, and when we are told that if the seceders at Richmond should make a nomination that would be acceptable to the democratic party, that that nomination should be taken instead of our recognized leader. I have to say that such an act would be regarded by our party as a reward to those who deserted their post when their services were most needed, and it would be playing into the hands of a factious minority. (Applause.) I desire to give another caution, or warning, or perhaps a word of advice would be the more appropriate expression. He has explained the necessity of the Democratic Convention standing by the name of Douglas. There can be no other man in the field for the support of the democracy. It will forever hold the man responsible who shall attempt to divide its counsels or weaken its camp. We mean one thing. We mean to support Douglas. First and last, from the beginning to the end, we are for him. (Applause.) We will listen to no compromise to no other name—to no conventional man. But the South, if they wish to gain a victory, and to find whether the democrats of the North will stand by them, have only to give us our standard bearer, under whom we are certain of victory and triumph. (Loud applause and three cheers for Douglas.)

SPEECH OF HON. WM. A. RICHARDSON.

Mr. RICHARDSON said—If it be asked why I, a stranger here, a citizen of another State, participate in your deliberations to-night, to such an inquiry I answer, that whenever democratic principles are to be advanced, whenever the cord that binds this Union draws us to gether, I am ready to lend my voice and my aid. (Applause.) There is so much in the history of the democratic party, so many triumphs, so much of glory and renown to the country, that it is strange at this day and this hour that there is division of parties. Look back at the past history of our country. What is it the democratic party that has accomplished? Who gave you that territory that lies west of the Mississippi river now springing into an empire? Who gave us Texas, who gave us California? It was democratic policy under the democratic rule. Point me, if you can, to any other policy that has made our country so great and so glorious. Other parties come upon the ground that we have left. They stand now where we stood upon the question of the tariff, of banks, and things of that sort years ago. They tramp over the cold ashes of our camp fire that we left behind years ago, and we march before them. Full of new citizens, we are on the eve of another contest for the ascendancy and maintenance of democratic principles. Our opponents have presented two candidates for the Presidency. They meet us in the field in two divisions. The Convention at Baltimore has presented the names of Mr. Bell and Mr. Everett. They are both men of large experience. They are men who, if elevated to office, would be able to conduct the affairs of government well. I do not propose to-night to discuss either their measures, their policy or their merit. The Chicago Convention has presented the name of Mr. Lincoln. (Loud applause and hisses, followed by louder applause and hisses.) Mr. Lincoln is a neighbor of mine, and I propose to refer for a moment to his history, to his experience and to his principles. In a speech made by a distinguished Senator from Illinois (Mr. Trumbull) the other day, at Washington, he said that "In January Mr. Lincoln was carried from Kentucky to the State of Indiana, and thence, with his axe on his shoulder, he made

his way into Illinois, and bowed his way to graceless." I suspect that is about as true of Mr. Lincoln as some of our declarations that he made. He was a most extraordinary man. He carried his axe from Kentucky to Illinois. (Laughter.) Now, what is his experience, by which our opponents tell us he is capable of assuming the robes of this mighty government, with all its vast territories? He served five or six years in the Illinois Legislature. He served one term in Congress. What else has he done? What great measure will he advocate in Congress?

A Voice.—He opposed the Mexican war.
Mr. RICHARDSON.—True; he did. Yes, fellow citizens, when the sons of Illinois, under the gallant Scott, were pushing their little column into the fight, displaying a bravery, a strategy, a skill that the world never saw, I called, Mr. Lincoln was making speeches against the country and in favor of Mexico. (Laughter and applause.) And it was the means of driving him from the political arena into retirement. He returned home, and a strongly whig district refused to elect him to Congress. (Applause.) For two whig parties were not in sympathy with the extremists. I am told that in the republican wigwags now they carry an emblem in the shape of a nail, intending to show that Mr. Lincoln was great at mauling rails. (Laughter.) Well, I don't know how that is; but there is one thing I think he does know, and that is, that in the contest between him and Judge Douglas he was pretty well maimed. (Laughter and applause.) What is there in his political notions that commends him to your support? Does the republican party tell us that they overthrew Mr. Seward—a man of long experience—one that built up the republican party—one that had stood by it in sunshine and in storm, and never faltered, no matter whether the cause was popular or unpopular? They overthrew Mr. Seward for what? For his irrepressible conflict doctrine. How does Mr. Lincoln stand on that question? The New York Herald correctly characterized him the other day. He entertains all of Mr. Seward's views, without being statesman enough to carry them into operation. (Applause.) Do they tell us that they withdrew Mr. Seward because of his extreme views? Mr. Lincoln entertains the same. Throughout the contest in the State of Illinois, when he supposed it would carry him into the Senate of the United States, he laid down precisely the same doctrine that Mr. Seward has promulgated. Gentlemen, coming, as I do, from a Southern State, in my intercourse with men I have found that man who sells his slaves in the South and goes to the North is the worst abolitionist, and that that man who goes from the North to the South and buys slaves is the worst fire eater. (Applause.) You have, then, in Mr. Lincoln the extreme views of which the conservative men of this country complain of in regard to Mr. Seward. I assume, fellow citizens, in the discussion of these questions, that this government cannot be carried on by a sectional party. That it cannot long endure, even if it could be carried on by such a party, is equally true. The great conservative element in this country—that patriotic feeling that means to transmit this government, with all its blessings, to our children as we received it from our fathers—never will consent that it shall be committed to a sectional party. (Applause.) Now, it is a little amusing to look at the Republican Convention. They say they had representatives from Kentucky, from Tennessee, from Maryland, from Virginia and from Texas. (Laughter.) Well, if they had representatives from Texas up at the Chicago Convention, that State must contain a very funny set of people. (Laughter.) We had some Texans down at Charleston, who were so far upon the other side that they said their State would go out of the Union unless we established slavery everywhere. But the same State, it would seem, sent delegates to Chicago, who said: "We must prohibit slavery everywhere!" And they are ready to break up this government unless it is done. Mr. Lincoln says this government can not endure half slave and half free—that a house divided against itself cannot stand. Our fathers believed, when they committed all these questions to the State, to do as they pleased in regard to them, that this Union could exist part slave and part free—that there was no necessary conflict between them. They said, in framing the constitution, "So far as slavery is concerned, hands off—non-intervention." (Applause.) And so are for non-intervention now. (Applause.) My fellow citizens, there are a number of my friends here to-night who are very fine speakers, and I want to give them a chance. (Cries of "Go on," "Go on.") I am not here to-night to discuss and to elaborate this great question of non-intervention. But let me say to our Southern friends, that this is a question of obligation, of good faith, of honor—that I, on my part, expect to adhere to it, and I expect them to do so on theirs. (Applause.) The convention that framed the constitution, agreed that they would leave all regulations in regard to the institution of slavery to the several States. The question was not to be decided by Congress. The convention was sealed in blood, and the graves of those who filled it are scattered all along the political highway. Why was it so repealed the Missouri compromise line prohibiting slavery north of thirty-six thirty? It was in order that we might have perfect non-intervention—that Congress might not interfere. I know a new dogma has sprung up lately. It is sought for, for the first time, is sought upon the creed of the party that we are bound to protect slavery. If any respectable gentleman in Congress, pending the Kansas-Nebraska bill, had intimated that such was the construction to be put upon that act, it never would have passed. (Applause.) Every man—I do not know a solitary exception—pending the Kansas-Nebraska bill, committed himself by speech or vote to the construction that was given to it by Mr. Buchanan and Mr. Breckinridge when they accepted the nomination in 1856, to wit: that the people of the Territories should settle the question of slavery for themselves. (Loud applause.) And not only was that the Congressional interpretation, but it was the interpretation of the people, as shown by the significant fact that, as soon as that act was passed, societies and associations were formed, both at the North and at the South, for the purpose of sending settlers into the Territories. Why did they marshal their forces

and rush into those Territories? It was to get possession of the Territorial Legislature. It was an effort on one side to establish, and on the other side to prohibit slavery there. And everybody that has acted with the democratic party has been committed over and over again to that construction. You have constructions running back or ten or fifteen years to that effect. Hence I say it is a question of good faith, of obligation, of honor. It is a covenant, an agreement about which there has been no misunderstanding in the future. Let us look at these things quickly and candidly. I know that some of our people in the North say that there is no disunion feeling at the South. You may tell that to others—I don't believe it. I don't believe, nor do I care, what the people are that prompted the action of a portion of the Charleston Convention. I charge to some with improper motives. But this I do know: that some of those gentlemen who are trying to get into the Richmond Convention, and will succeed, have been willing for years to swing their portion of the country out of the Union. (A Voice.—"True.") I allude to Mr. Ewell, of South Carolina, for one. He is a bold man, and proclaims his purpose. He was among the seceders, counselling and advising with them at Charleston. Some of them turned away when they saw that they were to be led by him. Now, while I have never co-operated with abolitionists, because I believe the tendency of their action was to destroy the country, I desire to say that I never will act with secessionists at the South, because I believe they will do the same thing. (Applause.) If we mean to preserve this government as our fathers gave it to us, we have got to overthrow both the abolitionists at the North and the disunionists at the South. (Applause.) For one, I am united for the war. They are my enemies in this contest, and I am theirs. (Applause.) It may be that I shall be vanquished. It may be that for the time being I shall be overthrown. (A Voice.—"No you won't.") But I will not be conquered. (Applause.) I will rise and fight them again. For I know that if they are successful, then this great fabric of liberty that our fathers erected—this government, these institutions, such as God never gave to man before, are gone and lost forever. I have no prejudices against any section of this Union. The scenes of my childhood, the graves of my fathers are in the Southern country. The graves of my children are in the Northern country. I am bound by these ties to the soil of my country. This government is all the patrimony that I ever received, and it is all the legacy I expect to give to my children. And so help me God, while breath lasts, I will do all I can to strike down the men who would destroy my country. (Applause.) A voice from the street, through one of the windows.—"Three cheers for Seward." Cries of "Put him out." Oh, let him have a little amusement; it won't hurt us. (Here some one from the rear proposed three cheers for Seward, which were faintly given, and followed by three hearty cheers for Mr. Richardson.) Fellow citizens, I have trespassed already too long upon your time. (Voices.—"No, not at all.") I want you to hear some of my younger friends. I have a lot of them here—Mr. Watkinson and Mr. Foote, of Tennessee. Mr. Richardson here took his seat amid loud applause.

The PRESIDENT then announced that there were many people outside waiting for speakers to come and address them. He then introduced to the audience as the next speaker, Colonel Watkinson, of Tennessee.

EPICURE OF HON. J. M. WATKINSON.

Mr. WATKINSON said.—Fellow democrats of New York, I claim to be an honest, patriotic man, with some experience in public affairs, and a pretty thorough knowledge of their present condition. I belong to that grand army of national democrats in Tennessee who stand ready to oppose sectionalism in every form. (Applause.) We love our true friends in the North, and can't help it, never fail to do them full justice when the occasion demands our opinion, and we try upon all attempts—no matter where they are made—to drive us from their alliance. (Applause.) This lesson was taught us by an army Jackson—(cheers)—and we have adhered to it with unflinching fidelity. We rally around the constitution and the Union with all the fervor of intense conviction. We understand our rights thoroughly, and will go as far as the farthest for their preservation. We ask for nothing that is not clearly right, and will submit to nothing that is clearly wrong. Ours is the motto of Davy Crockett—"Be sure you're right, then go ahead." (Applause.) The Tennessee democrats are eminently a practical people. They never mount a Rosinante and set out on a crusade against sinners. If they were to undertake such a Quixotic expedition they would expect the ghost of Jackson to arise and rebuke them for their folly. I know precisely what I am talking about, and reason what I say; for, if there be any thing in this wide world that I do not stand, as the old woman said of her "babe," it is the democratic sentiment of Tennessee. Being a native of that great commonwealth, and having taken for more than twenty years an active part in all the Presidential battles that have been fought, I ought to be somewhat familiar with the position of my own party—the glorious old democratic party—on the refreshing subject of slavery. I can only judge the future by the past. I will remember what occurred in 1813. When what is known in history as Gen. Cass' Nicolson letter was first published, it electrified the democratic members of the Tennessee Legislature that they rose up in a body, and sent a communication to the great Statesman, testifying to him their heartfelt thanks for the discovery and promulgation of the only true doctrine—non-intervention by Congress with the subject of slavery in the States, in the Territories, and in the District of Columbia. (Applause.) Such were the feelings and views of the party all over the State, and I might add, throughout the country. A little more than two years afterwards, September, 1830, Congress passed the compromise measure. The leading features engraved on the title establishing Territorial governments for Utah and New Mexico—two of the soils—was this identical principle of non-intervention. So far as I know, or believe, no man was to be found in the whole State who controverted the correctness of that doctrine. There was a debate in the Baltimore Convention in 1852. It is needless to say that the members of that body, for themselves and their constituents, unanimously resolved to abide by and uphold the principle of non-intervention with the question of slavery, as set forth in the Compromise measures of 1850. Standing on this platform, General Pierce was carried into the Presidential chair with an unusually

but seldom equalled since the formation of the government. Again, in 1850, our party planted itself on the same doctrine, and the result of the struggle with black republicanism was cheering to the patriotic heart of the nation. The Tennessee democracy rolled up a majority of electors, and secured for the treasury and I am sure that I do not misrepresent their wishes when I assert that they want no change of the platform in this respect, in 1856. (Applause.) Their old flag is still flying, on which can be seen, in large capitals, "non-intervention by Congress with slavery in State and Territory, or in the District of Columbia." They are willing to resign this great principle, and to let no other principle to be applied by Congress in the future. To what is known as a slave code for the Territories, they have the same conclusive objections that the nation had to his horse. Pat said his horse had but two qualities—one was that he was very hard to catch, and the other was that he wasn't worth a d—n after he was caught. (Great laughter.) In view of these hard down arguments, I am slow to believe that the able statesmen in Congress who are urging the passage of certain caucus resolutions, have an eye single to the preservation of Southern rights and the protection of Southern property in our Territories. If they were looking to these professed objects, it does seem to me, that they would vote for the practical and straightforward resolutions of my gallant and noble friend, Senator Brown, of Mississippi. In vain he tells them that the Legislature of Kansas has already passed a law abolishing slavery in that Territory, and it is time for Congress to apply the remedy, if it ever means to do so. What do they say in reply to this incontrovertible fact? I wish you to hear and remember the response given by Senator Benjamin, of Louisiana, on this very point, but a few days ago, when engaged in a discussion with Senator Sherman, of North Carolina. "I have not the remotest idea," said Mr. Benjamin, "that Kansas is going to be a slave State, and I would not give a snap of my finger for a thousand laws to protect slavery in Kansas while a Territory, and therefore I shall not vote for one." I doubt not that this emphatic declaration of the eloquent Senator was mentally endorsed by those who got up the caucus resolutions, and have been laboring, in season and out of season, to make the South believe that their adoption by the Senate was the only thing which could save her from immediate destruction. "I would not give a snap of my finger," exclaimed the Louisiana Senator, "for a thousand laws to protect slavery in Kansas while a Territory." And why? Because he had not the "remotest idea that Kansas is going to be a slave State." Then Congressional protection is to be extended to slavery properly only in Territories which are going to be slave States. Now if any body can see a principle in this programme, his optics are much clearer than mine. Why, sir, it is policy all over, and a very unwise policy at that. I say this with becoming respect for the amiable gentleman who promulgated it. When will it become necessary for Congress to pass a law for the protection of slavery in a Territory that is going to be a slave State? I answer, never, never; for this simple reason:—Wherever the soil and climate are favorable to slavery, there slavery will go, and the local authorities will protect it. It is a question which always has been and always will be settled by interest—by the overruling dollar. (Applause.) Your fathers and grandfathers found that they could hire labor cheaper than they could own it; and the result was that they sent their negroes down South and sold them—(laughter)—never forgetting in a single instance, I dare say, to pocket the money. (Repeated laughter.) They did precisely what I should have done under similar circumstances. It is my solemn belief that humanity, philanthropy, or whatever else you may call such a feeling, had but little to do with the operation. The whole proceeding was conducted upon the principle of "Here is one and there is the other." "Take this and give me that, because it will benefit me to make the exchange," was the beginning and end of the transaction. So it will be with slavery in the Territories, if the people thereof are left free to mould their domestic institutions in their own way. (Applause.) Rearranging the scene on an account of his opinion respecting the extent of power in Territorial legislatures over the question of slavery. My own mind has been brought to the conclusion that they have no power to exclude the institution; but much wiser men and able lawyers than I profess to be are equally clear that they have. Whether they or I take the proper view of the subject is a matter practically of but little importance. At least, such is my opinion, and it may go for what it is worth. I regard the whole thing as a miserable abstraction that can never come before me in any practicable shape, unless I remove to one of our Territories, and act that I have not the slightest idea of perpetrating. Neither can it ever come before the President of the United States. It was very properly referred by the Kansas-Nebraska law to the arbitration of the Territorial courts, with the right of appeal to the Supreme Court, and there it will be permitted to rest by all good democrats who forget self and desire to save the country from the clutches of black republicanism. I regret as much as any of you possibly can the association of Southern delegates from the Charleston Convention. I thought then, and I think now, that the stampede was wholly unjustifiable. In my humble judgment it never would have taken place if the leaders in the move had gone there in the spirit of patriotism and true democracy. Unfortunately for the country they set out with a determination to rule or ruin, and how could a row be avoided? I have been in the habit of thinking that such men should be declared ineligible to seats in a political convention. (Applause.) Most certainly they could not get into a council of the State by my vote. They would have to pledge themselves to abide by the result, or I would not confer with them. I never play upon any man the game of "Heads I win, tails you lose." (Laughter.) And I will not allow it to be played upon me, fellow democrats. I do wonder if there be any gentlemen in this vast assemblage so superlatively virtuous as to suppose that the Charleston bolt was based on principle. No, my friends, it was personal in its attitude, language, demeanor and circumference. (Applause.) Opposition to one man was the main spring of the entire movement, and

that man was the Little Giant of Illinois. (Cheers.) Of this great democratic leader I shall have a word to say before I close. It is well known to my intimate friends it was known to my friend, Mr. Richardson, who has just taken his seat, my first choice for the next President was another distinguished gentleman—a gentleman with whom I had been on terms of cordial friendship—personal and political for a quarter of a century. I mean Governor Johnson, of Tennessee. (Applause.) I had seen him rise from the shop of a humble machanic, and by dint of his intellect, integrity and Jacksonian will, ascend, by regular gradations, to a seat in the Senate of the United States. I know that he is a gentlemanly and a noble man; and I must be permitted to add, that I would have rejoiced as his nomination by the Charleston Convention as our standard bearer in the approaching struggle. But it is due to candor to say that I hardly expected it. Neither did he or his friends desire for him the position indicated, if it had to be obtained by a meretricious war on his democratic rivals, or by any unfair or improper means. (Applause.) I know that he does not sympathize with those who have been permitting their personal animosities to distract and almost disrupt the party. No, no, my friends—far, very far from it. I honor him for the feeling—it conclusively shows that I have not been mistaken in my estimate of the high sense of justice as a man, and his far-reaching wisdom as a statesman. Now, I will frankly say to you and all whom it may concern, that if Judge Douglas had been nominated at Charleston, I would have given him, not only a cordial, but an enthusiastic support. I will go further and say, with equal frankness, that according to my views of democratic duty, when he received a majority of the Charleston Convention, he ought to have been nominated by acclamation. (Vehement applause.) (A voice: It is not too late yet. "Not by a jug full." Laughter.) I will go still further and say, that there is not a democrat in America who can present a more consistent record since his entrance into public life. (Applause.) The ostensible reasons given for the bitter assaults that have been made upon him, existed in full force when he was the idol of the whole South. He gave a hearty endorsement to the non-intervention doctrine laid down by Gen. Cass, in 1848. In his letter to Mr. Nicholson, and right there he has been standing for twelve years with heroic firmness. (Applause.) I had the pleasure of listening to his great speech in the Senate, during the past week, and I could not but admire his gallant bearing and his triumphant vindication against all assailants. (Applause.) It was truly a sublime spectacle, and I would advise you to read that masterly effort. If the facts therein set forth do not dispel the fogs of prejudice that have been spread over the South, it will be because they are not allowed to penetrate the Southern mind. This is my judgment; and I have felt it my duty, as a truth-loving and fair dealing democrat, to proclaim it. Fellow democrats: Let me say to you, in conclusion, that the old enemy is in the field in two divisions—one is commanded by Gen. Jackson, and the other by Gen. Bell. There they are, girt with their armor. Their plumes are waving, and the voice of patriotism cries out to "prepare to meet them." Let us obey the summons and be ready for the conflict, so soon as the Baltimore (not Richmond) Convention selects for us a Commander-in-Chief. Let us forget past differences, prejudices and passions. Let us cultivate the spirit of charity, conciliation and fraternity, and we shall see a powerful and indomitable army rally around the flag of our principles and our leader, and another overwhelming endorsement from the sovereign people of the constitution, the Union and the laws, under their only guardian—the national democratic party. (Vehement applause.)

SPEECH OF THE HON. HENRY S. FOOTE.

The President then introduced the Hon. HENRY S. FOOTE, who was received with long continued applause and cheering. He said, I am most decidedly of opinion that it is inexpedient for me to deliver anything like a regular address to you to night. The interesting topics which have already been presented to your consideration have been most amply and ably discussed; and there are gentlemen in reserve well known to you, known to me, and who are favorites in this part of the world, whom I am sure you are waiting most impatiently to hear. Called upon as I am, although exceedingly exhausted at the journey just terminated from my home in Nashville, I feel bound to come forward for the purpose of testifying that my own convictions of public duty at the present time, and as I deem the state of public sentiment at present in the South, are in favor of Judge Douglas being nominated at Baltimore. (Applause.) Allow me to say that one great interesting painful topic has been suggested, which is important to be considered at the present time, for it is associated with the contest now about to commence for Presidential power. And, therefore, inasmuch as I find I can do so conveniently, the few remarks which I shall address to this audience will be devoted mainly to the consideration of that topic. The Union of these States is said to be in danger; and it is no lightly said, but most seriously asserted. That this Union is in danger I have long thought; and, although I know that some are in the habit of considering all language of this sort as either empty menace or mere vaporing declamation, yet I assure you that every sage statesman in America that I have heard say anything upon this subject for the last twelve months, has concurred in the emphatic declaration of opinion that the Union of these States, established by the blood and wisdom of our sacred forefathers, is in imminent peril. I shall not give you a catalogue of great names upon this point, but I will state by way of illustration merely, for I can do no more at the present occasion—the fact that only about six months since I was in the city of Washington, and had an interview of a truly interesting character with my venerable friend, the Secretary of State, Gen. Cass, in the progress of which he stated deliberately to me what I am authorized now to state to you, but he was so well satisfied that this Union was in danger, that he painfully apprehended that aged as he was, and feeble as his physical health was, he should himself survive the Union which he loved so dearly. (Applause.) Must it not be in danger? Have we not heard of the domination of a gentleman, who, whatever may be his moral qualities, whatever may be his intellectual powers, however pure his private and public history heretofore, stands at

the present time exultingly non-natural upon a platform very clearly indicating to the American people and the world at large, that if he shall be triumphant in this contest for Presidential honor, he is prepared as chief executive officer of this Union, to take the lead in having several enactments adopted by the Congress of the United States, any one of which, no man who is familiar with the subject can doubt, by his adoption, would sever the Union itself? Is not the republican party pledged at the present time, in the most solemn and explicit manner, if successful in this contest, to endeavor by vote in the two houses of Congress, and by the sanction of its President elect, to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, to repeal or modify the vital provisions of what is known as the Fugitive Slave law, and to adopt an enactment excluding slavery from all the Territories of this nation? No man, whether he be republican or not, will dispute this proposition. Now, see what is the condition of things. This gentleman now contending with Mr. Douglas so fiercely in the Senate of the United States (Mr. Davis), who some nine years ago contested with the humble individual now addressing you with much fiercer zeal for the very issue he is now discussing, when the people of Mississippi decided that issue against him—that gentleman is well known to head a body of individuals who have declared long ago their earnest desire to break up the union of these States on the occasion of any one of certain events specified by them, outside of what was known as the Union platform of the State of Mississippi and the State of Georgia, and, in fact, of the whole South, in the year 1851. I beg to remind you of an important historic fact, that when Mr. Davis, Mr. Quitman, and others, Mr. Donald, of Georgia, and Mr. Rhett, of South Carolina, with the whole body of secession chiefs of that period—and I use the term not reproachfully, but for its historic correctness—when they urged upon the South with one voice, in unmistakable language, that the Union itself should be dissolved, that the Southern States of the confederacy should withdraw, on account of the admission of California and other enactments associated therewith, the Union men of the States I have mentioned calmed the intense excitement then raging in the land by means of a compact, in which they solemnly and deliberately united, called the Georgia and Mississippi platform, but adopted by every Southern State in the confederacy, so far as I recollect, including Maryland, Virginia, Kentucky, and North Carolina, and solemnly agreed that if our appeal to the party anxious to dissolve the Union—proposing, as Governor Quitman had done in his last message, and sanctioned by every man in Mississippi, the prompt and peaceable secession of the people of the State of Mississippi, on account of the measures adopted in 1850, unless some additional constitutional guaranty, to use his very language, should be accorded to the Southern States, doomed by him to be in great peril in consequence of those recent enactments, should induce our friends generally to agree to acquiesce in these enactments, we would solemnly pledge ourselves, and that pledge is embodied in the platform referred to, that in the event of the Congress of the United States ever abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia, ever excluding slavery from the Territories, ever repealing the provisions of the fugitive slave law, ever interfering with the trade in slaves between State and State, ever refused to admit a new State into this Union on account of slavery within its limits, we would ourselves take the initiative in the work of disunion. That was the position of the Union men in the South in 1851, and I beg you to consider it. They stand solemnly pledged before God and their countrymen to take the initiative in the work of dissolving this Union if any one of these enactments shall be passed. It is a very grave matter. This republican party is organized upon the basis that those enactments must be adopted. If Mr. Lincoln is elected, they will be adopted within the next two years, and he will sign the bill. What will be done? Do you suppose the Southern States of the Union will remain in the confederacy? It may be that we acted unwisely. It may be that we went too far. But I tell you, as a Union man who has made some slight sacrifices in support of this holiest of causes. I tell you with my hand on my heart and in the presence of Almighty God, that if any one of those enactments shall ever pass the Congress of the United States and be sanctioned by the President, it will be impossible for minor influences to be brought to bear upon the members and leaders of the secessionists to prevent their carrying four or five States at least out of the Union at once. That being the state of things, what do we want? Some gentleman say that we want protection. Judge Douglas has discussed it with an ability no man can equal, and the whole American people are bound to understand the sophistry that is attempted to overspread the surface of this subject, and they will comprehend it in all its aspects and bearings. I shall not discuss this subject; but I have this to say, that the Southern people do not ask this protection, and that those who deal in Senatorial roles to dictate it to the sovereign people of America, will become objects of contempt among the whole people in less than ninety days from the present moment. (Laughter and applause.) What do we want? We want such a platform as the democratic party have to regulate the action of the government. We know that it is a conservative platform—a constitutional platform—wisely adopted by sage lovers of the Union, and that it will be productive of national happiness and safety, knowing that we intend to abide by it, and do not intend to change it. We intend to do as certain noble Britons, our forefathers, did, when a British King urged them to alter the laws of England. They said, "We will not alter the laws of England." And so we say, "We will not alter the democratic platform." (Applause.) And especially we will not alter it to gratify those gentlemen who, if the alteration shall be made, will not sustain the democratic cause, and when we know that the alteration however slight or immaterial will bring down ruin and defeat inevitably upon the whole demo-

cratic party. (Applause.) We want a platform; but what else do we want? We want a man upon that platform who understands it, who is identified with it, who will give it a fearless and efficient support; a man of integrity, of public experience, of energy, a man who has fought a thousand battles and in every one been promptly victorious; (applause); a man who represents more nobly than any man now surviving the character and the spirit of the immortal Jackson, who proclaimed in language never to be forgotten while patriotism lives in this country, "The Union must be preserved." (Great applause.) We want him because we know he is a progressive man and yet conservative. We know that he would not have any particular objection to an honest, lawful and proper manner, to extend the territory of this Union by giving us Cuba. (Applause.) We know that he is the most firm and fearless maintainer of the Monroe doctrine known in the country for the last twenty years. He is the only man who earnestly protested against the Clayton Bulwer treaty in the Senate of the United States. The individual now addressing you with shame and mortification confesses that during the discussions upon the provisions of that treaty, Judge Douglas alone had the astuteness to discover the mischief lurking in its provisions, and the manhood, even at the last moment, to protest against its ratification. (Applause.) We want a man who not only knows his duty, but who dares to perform it. If the Republicans should succeed in obtaining a majority in both houses of Congress, and in carrying through either of the enactments I have named, we want a man there who will be proud to have the opportunity of at once exercising the veto power for the purpose of compelling the advances of the South and the reverses of the peace of the Union to carry through these absurd and noxious measures by a majority of two-thirds of each House. If Stephen A. Douglas is elected to the Presidency, though the Republicans may have the majority of both Houses of Congress, they will never be able in my judgment to carry through these enactments in consequence of the interposition of his veto. Mr. Lincoln, if elected, will sign the bill, and bring on civil war, produce secession, discord, revolt, dissolution, the destruction of our free institutions, and will imprint upon our national escutcheon marks of infelicitous disaster. Wherefore as a Union man, I beg you earnestly to consider this matter. I assure you that the men of the South are not going to be trifled with in this little matter of protection. They know very well that slavery will go where it is wanted in spite of the law, without the aid of law. God Almighty in his instrumentalities of climate and soil has regulated that matter, and will regulate it hereafter. It will not go where it is not needed; it will go where it is needed. It requires no protection. Let me give you one other point and I am done. I intend to denounce nobody. God knows my desire is that the whole country should be united, and especially that my countrymen of the South should unite in the great work of the preservation of the republic. But I am bound to state this to you. It is true, Mr. President, that you know it to be true, that for the last ten years there has been a small party in the South, of high social standing, very few in numbers, who have openly and also secretly been struggling—consequently I believe most earnestly; as I believe, entertaining the opinion that the South can no longer maintain its position in the Union. Mr. Davis undertakes to defend Mr. Yancey and others from the charge of disunion. Look at Mr. Yancey's speech, in which he declares twice, at the present moment, that the time has come already when the South can remain safely in the Union no longer. If so, then of course he must desire that the South be made safe by going out of the Union. One plan alone has occupied the attention of these gentlemen. For ten years past they have been raising some new issue, which they had reason to believe would be rejected, being made; and, upon that rejection, expecting confidently to plunge the South into revolution. They clung to the compromise measures of 1850, and said they afforded them no protection, and, not getting that, they struggled to go out of the Union; but the people decided against them. Then came the proposition for protection; and now has come from some of them a demand for the reopening of the African slave trade, a demand sanctioned to-night by at least three Senators of the United States from Southern States, and by at least half a dozen distinguished democratic representatives. I knew at least three Southern Senators who etched pledged to introduce a bill into the Congress of the United States for the purpose of repealing that law suppressing the African slave trade, making it piracy, and subjecting the persons employed to capital punishment. I will not mention the names, I know this to be true, and they know I know it to be true. They know that all that summer in the State of Mississippi denounced the project as an unholy and unconstitutional project, and full of danger to the country. They found that they could not get the South to unite upon it, and therefore they had to abandon it. That was followed by Mr. Yancey's Southern League. I shall not discuss it. It is too contemptible to discuss. (Applause.) And last, not least, came Mr. Davis' proposition and Mr. Brown's proposition that you will reform your democratic platform by interposing a protection plank that they know will never be adopted by the Congress of the United States; and it is only introduced for the purpose of agitating the Union of these States and defeating the democratic ticket. Mr. Yancey discloses the fact. There is a Southern Convention already called at Atlanta, Georgia, on the 8th of November next, for the purpose of withdrawing from the Union. I forbear to name these gentlemen because I cannot meet them here face to face, as I hope to do on some other occasion. If you alter your platform the party is gone. Mr. Douglas is defeated; and no other man, in my judgment, can be elected. Then these gentlemen will have it in their power to go out of the Union, they think. Perhaps there may be some obstacles to that; but that is not for me now to enlarge upon. It is not true that Mr. Douglas is not a most popular man in the South. The masses in Mississippi, Georgia and Alabama sympathize more unanimously with Douglas than with any other man. Let me tell you an incident—I chanced to be in the largest cotton county in the United States—Cotton county, in Arkansas—where the people, many of them knowing me, and having known me for years, in-

quired whether I would address them in support of Douglas' views and policy. I spoke for two or three hours. I had time, then, as I have not now—and what was the result? That large meeting drew up a resolution immediately, approving of the doctrines of Mr. Douglas' manifesto, and that resolution was adopted unanimously. Public sentiment is every moment manifesting itself most strongly for Douglas. Nominate Douglas with an unchanged platform, and we will lead you in preserving the Union by securing the success of the democratic party. (Applause.) In conclusion, let me say that I regret not to see the honored face of one of your Vice Presidents, whose name I delighted to hear, the Hon. George Binckhoff. (Applause.) I have heard with great pain what was published in the newspapers of the country that that gentleman, the Livy of America, almost despairing of the republic, had declined continuing his immortal history of his native land, from the painful apprehension be entertained that the experiment of the self-government of a country was of doubtful solution. Be of good cheer, my illustrious friend. Douglas will be nominated at Baltimore (repeated cheers), and it will save the Union from disgraceful defeat. The flag of republicanism shall trail in the dust, and we shall be permitted to enjoy the priceless blessings of civil and religious freedom, I trust forever. (Loud and continuous applause.)

SPEECH OF HON. JOHN LOGAN.

The Chairman introduced Hon. JOHN LOGAN, of Illinois, who was received with applause. He said—I feel as though it is good to be here to-night. It is the first time for some months that I have had the opportunity of meeting with any number of democrats who appear to feel as though the old democratic days had not passed and gone. (Cheers.) These sentiments that have been enunciated to-night by the resolutions which have been unanimously adopted, are the doctrines which the democratic party of the country have heretofore and will ever stand by. We find in the first resolution, which embraces the platform adopted by the democratic party at Cincinnati in 1856, enunciated the principles that underlie this government, upon which this government is founded—the principles upon which this government has been and must be maintained. (Applause.) We find there the principles enunciated that were in 1850, in the adoption of the measures commonly known as the compromise measures. We find there the measures that were adopted by the Congress of the United States, by the President, by the National Democratic Convention, and re-endorsed by the national whig party at the assembly of their convention upon that issue, and upon that issue alone. The two champions of these parties went before the country, both endorsing these measures—differing, however, on other matters; and upon that issue the democratic candidate was elected, carrying at that time a large majority of the Northern States. (Cheers.) In that struggle the Northern States sustained Gen. Franklin Pierce, and placed him in the Presidential chair. A portion of the Southern States sustained him, and a portion did not. He was elected, however, as has been remarked by your Chairman, by a majority of the Northern States—two only, I believe, refusing to endorse him in their election. (Cheers.) In 1854 the same principles that were enunciated in the compromise measures of 1850 were again enunciated in the Kansas-Nebraska bill, that received the sanction of Congress, of the President of the United States, and the adoption of the people by the triumphant election of James Buchanan as President. (Applause.) At that time the doctrines there embraced were well understood throughout this vast republic. It was understood, North, South, East and West, that the democratic party stood firmly by the doctrine of non-interference with slavery in the Territories and in the District of Columbia. The doctrine then was, as we find it in the constitution of this government, "Hands off!" by Congress. The people themselves have the ability, and they have the right to govern themselves and to say what kind of institutions they should have in the Territories as well as in the States. (Loud applause.) In reference to this principle, and in reference to these measures, it is not necessary to enter upon a discussion at this time. I merely allude to them in showing that the democratic party has stood by these principles up to the time that Mr. Buchanan was elected in 1856. There is, however, my fellow democrats, at this time some trouble. These are troublous times; and this vast assemblage here before me to-night proves that the American people are awake to the interests of their country and the preservation of the constitution of this glorious Union. In 1856, as you have been told by Governor Foster, there was trouble, and also in 1861. After the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska bill we had trouble. Why? It was in establishing this principle firmly in the minds of the American people. It was fairly and properly placed before them, it was discussed before the intelligence of the nation and adopted, and I believe they are now willing to stand by the declaration of that time. (Cheers.) There has been ever an element in this country, and if it is allowed at any future time to predominate the government itself must be destroyed. The fanaticism of the North embodied in the abolition party, who have taken the name of republicans, dissolves this great empire, destroys it and breaks it up for all time to come. At the same time the element at the South is just as extreme the other way, declaring the Union is not worth supporting unless their peculiar notions are adopted, and is just as dangerous to the perpetuity of the government as is the fanaticism of the Northern States. (Cheers.) I have met the fanaticism of the North; I have been in contests where the republic, as it is called now, or abolitionism itself, was in the ascendancy; I have seen its hideous form in every shape possible, and I suppose you have seen as much, and possibly more; but I never have, until recently seen the fanaticism of certain portions of the Southern States. At Charleston, however, I had an opportunity of witnessing what I call the extreme of fanaticism. We assembled, as it is our custom every four years, for the purpose of nominating a candidate for Pres-

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(incomplete)

No Disruption,

Lincoln's developed strength renders the election of any man, regularly nominated by the Democracy, hopeless; but there is a bare hope, that should Douglas be put forward as a Northern candidate—as a man too thoroughly hostile to the aggressive purposes of slavery to be acceptable to the South—that he may carry a few Northern States, and then stand a chance, with others, of an election in the House.—*Ev. Journal.*

There is certainly nothing in "LINCOLN'S developed strength" which is likely to lead the Democratic party to resort to so unpromising an expedient as that of dividing itself in twain, North and South, and converting itself into two sectional parties, in the vain hope of thus preserving its ascendancy in the nation. Such an experiment might be the result of necessity, but would never be adopted by sane men with a view to success. No—the glory and strength of the Democratic party consists in its nationality—in the fact that it is an organization which binds together, with a view to the promotion of their country's prosperity and greatness, men of every section of the Union. When this bond is severed the honor and the strength of the party will be most seriously impaired. Against such a result every Democrat should carefully guard, and see to it, that neither the excitement of the hour, nor personal preferences or prejudices imperceptibly carry him in that direction.

We have faith both in the wisdom and patriotism of the Democratic National Convention. When it assembles at Baltimore, its delegates will have had time for calm reflection. Since their separation the Republican nominations have been placed in the field. The enemy has taken his position. The leader selected—although in all respects as ultra in his "irrepressible conflict" views as SEWARD, without the balance of the intellect and statesmanship of the latter—is nevertheless weak, and can easily be beaten, if we do not throw away the campaign. Where and how he can be attacked and routed will be apparent to the delegates on re-assembling. The whole battle ground will be spread out before them. We believe they will survey it, like cool, sagacious men, and with a view to winning it. The stake is too great to be carelessly risked or recklessly lost.

With the prevalence of good temper and wise counsels at Baltimore, the Democrats will have a sure and easy victory in the Presidential contest. The great States of New York and Pennsylvania (backed up by many smaller ones at the North,) can be won back to the Democracy, and its ascendancy in these States and the Union placed on a permanent footing. The idea of a paralysis of the Convention from inability to agree, and its disruption and the running of a Northern and Southern candidate, ought not to be contemplated as a possible occurrence—except to be carefully and prayerfully avoided.

Such an occurrence would hazard, not only the success of the Democratic party, but also the continuance of the Union. Whatever else distasteful or injurious to us or to others may occur at Baltimore, nothing so calamitous as this can happen.

While we speak as Democrats of the Union, we also speak as Democrats of New York. The opportunity is now presented to restore this great State to its rightful position in the Democratic column—at the same time securing a National triumph—with a reasonable assurance that the ascendancy thus gained in State and Nation will not be ephemeral, but the commencement of an era of Democratic rule. Shall such a glorious result be attained? We cannot doubt the response of every Democrat—may we not add of many patriotic men not hitherto enrolled as such—whether in or beyond this State. All this may be secured if good temper, sound judgment and ordinary sagacity preside over the deliberations of the Convention at Baltimore.

The Hartford *Courant* denominates Mr. Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, "The Coming Man." He will be longer "coming" than the butter would in a churn-full of sweet milk.—The American people want somebody who is not a Giddings Abolitionist for President.—*Hartford Times.*

Vanity Fair denominates Lincoln "the nameless candidate of an aimless party."

EVENING TRANSCRIPT.

TUESDAY EVENING, JUNE 19, 1860.

BRILLIANTS.

IN CLOVER.

There is clover, honey-sweet,
Thick and tangled at our feet:
Crimson-spotted lies the field,
Blood-blotted like a warrior's shield.
Yonder poppies, full of scorn,
Proudly wave above the corn.
There is music at our feet,
In the clover, honey-sweet.

You may track the winds that blow
Through the cornfields as they go;
From the wheat as from a sea,
Springs the lark in ecstasy.
Now the bloom is on the blade,
In the sun and in the shade.
There is music at our feet,
In the clover, honey-sweet.

[Walter Thornbury.]

THE CHILD AND THE STREAM.

'Tis a lonely glen! but the happy child
Hath friends whom she meets in the morning wild!
As on she trips, her native stream,
Like her, has awoke from a joyful dream,
And glides away by her twinkling feet,
With a face as bright and a voice as sweet.
In the ozy bank the ouzel sitting
Hath heard her steps, and away is flitting
From stone to stone, as she glides along,
Then slinks in the stream with a broken song.
The lapwing, fearless of his nest,
Stands looking round with his delicate crest;
For a love-like joy is in his cry
As he wheels and darts and glances by.

[Prof. Wilson.]

MORNING.

But look, the morn in russet mantle clad
Walks o'er the dew of yon high eastern hill.
[Shakspeare.]

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION.

FIRST DAY—ADDITIONAL.

BALTIMORE, 18th.

The Convention refused to second the previous question—107 to 140½;—New York casting 35 negative votes.

Mr. Gilmore of Pennsylvania moved to amend the amendment of Mr. Church, instructing the President to admit the delegates from States where no contestants appeared.

The Convention here took a recess until 5 o'clock.

EVENING SESSION.

The Convention reassembled at 5 o'clock.

The question pending was the amendment of Mr. Gilmore of Pennsylvania to the amendment of Mr. Church of New York.

The President announced that credentials had been placed in his hands by delegates from Delaware, Georgia, Alabama, Florida, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas and Arkansas, and a letter from the Mississippi delegates; and a communication from Mr. Chaffee, claiming a seat from Massachusetts. He deemed it proper to inform the Convention of the reception of these documents.

The Secretary then read the several propositions before the Convention.

Mr. Gilmore perfected his amendment to read as follows:

Resolved, That the President of the Convention is authorized to issue tickets to delegates to this Convention from Texas, Mississippi, Arkansas and Florida, from which States there are no contending delegations; and that for the States of Delaware, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, where there are contending delegations, a committee on credentials be appointed.

Mr. Clark of Missouri wished to modify the last amendment.

Mr. Richardson raised a point of order that the proposition before the Convention cannot be altered.

Mr. Clark asked that his proposition might be read for information.

Mr. Samuels of Iowa objected.

Mr. Clark asked Mr. Samuels as a Democrat, to consent to the reading.

Mr. Samuels replied as a Democrat, and persisted in his refusal.

Mr. Clark then stated that there were contending delegates from Arkansas. He was so informed by a gentleman whose word was entitled to respect all over the Union—Mr. Rust of Arkansas. (Applause.)

Mr. Sturman of Arkansas said that Mr. Rust was not a delegate, and did not claim to be.

A gentleman from Arkansas, not a delegate, attempted to speak, but was not permitted.

Mr. Merrick of Illinois raised a point of order, that Mr. Gilmore's amendment could not be modified, as he had not the floor.

The President ruled the point well taken. Mr. Randall had the floor at the time of adjournment, and unless yielded to Mr. Gilmore, the latter could not make the proposed modification.

Mr. Clark's proposition was read for information only, as follows:

Resolved, That the citizens of the several States have an equal right to settle and remain in the territories, and hold therein, unmolested by any legisla-

tion, their slaves and other property; that the Convention recognizes the opinion of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case as the true exposition of the Constitution in regard to the rights of the citizens of the United States, and upon all subjects concerning which it treats; and that members of this Convention pledge themselves, and require all authorized delegates to make the same pledges, to support the Democratic candidates fairly and in good faith nominated at this Convention according to the usages of the National Democratic party. (Applause and some hisses.)

The President, in answer to an inquiry, stated that the proposition was not now before the Convention.

Mr. Randall withdrew from the floor to allow Mr. Gilmore to modify his amendment as proposed.

Mr. Randall again took the floor in favor of Mr. Gilmore's amendment, and opposing that of Mr. Church. He denied that the Convention, as a delegated body, had the right to impose conditions upon the seven seceding States. He also denied the policy of making any terms to the seceders, as they would not accept an entrance on such terms. He said that the party was to fight the battle at the polls, and that it was necessary to unite all sections against the opposing party. (Applause; hisses from the galleries.)

Mr. Hodge of Va. demanded to know if he had got to sit here and submit to insult and hisses from the galleries. If outside pressure was to be brought up to crush out fairness in discussion, Virginia had better know it at once and retire from the field, where she could defend her rights.

The President announced that if the galleries were not quiet he would have them cleared.

Mr. Randall then resumed his place on the floor enlarging upon the rights of the seceders, and urging harmony and conciliation.

Mr. Richardson of Illinois opposed the resolution, because it sought to admit delegates from Florida. Their constituents refused to send them here to seek seats, and although he was assured they would take seats if the olive branch was extended to them, they represented no constituency, and were not bound by the action of this Convention. He also opposed the amendment, because it proposed to admit delegates from Arkansas. Was the Convention to prejudice this case? Mississippi came here accredited and without opposition, and was placed in the same list. When the contest arises, it should be investigated by the Committee.

Voice—"Why was it not done so at Charleston?"

Mr. Richardson—Because when action was taken there was no regular organization of the Convention. Now it was different, and he was in favor of an investigation where there was a contest.

Voice—"So am I."

Mr. Richardson contended that investigation should be made, in justice to all parties.

Mr. Cochrane said the question arose whether the excuse or justification for the seceders who had left a portion of the seats here unoccupied was sufficient. He deemed it well for the convention to seek to call back the erring brothers and he was unfavorable to either of the resolutions. He was unwilling to place any obligation upon the retiring delegates. It should be remembered that upon a previous occasion such terms were placed on the New York delegates, and there might be some excuse for its being offered now by New York. He assured the convention that his State would always be found on the side of liberty and justice.

Mr. Russell of Virginia said that the vote of the morning gave promise of leniency on the part of the majority to secure harmony that could not fail to lead to a happy union on principles and candidates. Virginia was here emphatically to harmonize, and she meant to see fair play between the Democracy of the North and South. He was in favor of admitting all uncontested delegations at once, and then refer the contested seats to a committee on credentials.

Mr. Montgomery of Penn. considered the pledge required by the resolution proper. His colleague said no man could be bound by it. He (Mr. M.) believed that every Democrat and man of honor was bound by the action of this Convention. If his colleague refused to be so bound, the sooner he left the party the better for it. He was unwilling that these delegates should return in order to secede again.

Mr. Johnson of Maryland moved to clear the galleries. A debate followed.

Mr. Montgomery resumed. The men who now asked to return had met at Richmond in a hostile convention, and were holding that convention in terrorism over the head of this. He was opposed to secession from the Union, and it was necessary that the Convention should require pledges when men declared themselves opposed to the principles of the party, and there were precedents for such pledges.

Mr. Ewing of Tenn. urged unity of action against a formidable enemy in place of exciting feelings of animosity in the party. The States in which there is no contest should be admitted, as action is being taken in which they are interested. He was not in favor of secession, but if the majority of the Northern delegates adopt principles which the Southern delegates cannot in honor endorse, it is perfectly competent and honorable for them to withdraw. As a life-long Democrat, he believed that the safety of life and property at the South depended upon the preservation of the National Democratic party. He concluded by exhorting the Convention to strike out Arkansas from the resolutions which had contestants, and admit all the uncontested States at once.

Mr. Loring of Massachusetts was surprised to hear any allusion made hostile to the so-called seceding delegations, and to find opposition to the admission of certain States to the Convention. He repudiated the idea of depriving the seceders of the right to return. The Convention should be glad to welcome them back. For the first time he had heard in a Democratic Convention talk of sections and party. He thought such sentiments belonged exclusively to another organization. He denied the right of the

Convention to impose pledges on any delegate. How would the proposer like to have such a doctrine applied to themselves? (Cries of Yes! yes! then he could only add, that if the proposition be to exclude Florida, because she had again so

credited delegates here; was carried out, he would himself withdraw from the Convention, and not be seen in it again. (Loud applause.)

Mr. Merritt of Illinois said his State was prepared to abide by the action of the Convention. If the gentleman from Massachusetts carried out his threat, there would be but one more seceder. He would recognize no right of seceders to seats. If the contest must come, he was willing it should be met now.

Mr. Samuels of Iowa asked the Chair if he had any documents claiming seats for Florida.

The President stated that he only had a newspaper with the proceedings of the Florida Convention.

Mr. Samuels—Is there anything showing that the delegates from Florida are accredited to the Convention?

The President said that fact could be ascertained only by perusal.

Mr. King of Missouri asked if the seceding delegates had a roving commission. The gentleman from Massachusetts, Mr. Loring, said that he would himself withdraw if the action of the Convention did not suit him. He (Mr. King) was not prepared to say as much, but thought the seceders, owing double allegiance, were not entitled to seats here; he said he did not mean the delegates that had been accredited since the Charleston Convention. He characterized the protest of the Texas seceding delegates to the action at Charleston as an insult to the Convention. He believed delegations to the other Convention came here for mischief, and there was ground for supposing that they would go back to their own adjourned Convention, if they could not have their own way here. If delegates elected to Richmond came here for such purposes, they would never get his vote. He declared that South Carolina alone preserved its consistency and dignity in not coming here.

Mr. King alluded in severe terms upon members of the government in signing directions to seceders to come back. It was said that the highest legal authority in Washington had designated this as a bogus Convention, it not being regularly in session, and so he supposed the Richmond Convention would lay claim to regularity. He referred to the programme said to be made up in Washington to draw certain States from the Convention, in order, if Douglas is nominated, to call him a sectional candidate, like Lincoln. He urged the Convention to hold on to the principles of the National Democracy, yielding to no sectional demands.

Mr. West of Connecticut said the Democrats in his State had been attacked at Charleston as little better than Black Republicans, and were unable there to defend themselves, because they were not recognized and awarded the floor. He denounced any man who denounced Connecticut. The assertion of the delegate from Massachusetts that the seceders had been driven from the Convention grated harshly upon his ears. He reviewed the position of the Northern Democracy, asserting their right to demand the same platform that was forced upon them four years ago. The North has rights as well as the South, and must maintain them. He argued forcibly in support of the position of the majority and against the admission of unaccredited delegates, or any who will not pledge themselves to support the action of the Convention.

Mr. Hunter of Mo. charged Gov. King with disregarding the wishes of his constituents, in his present action.

Mr. King—I deny it.

Mr. Hunter said he was not a lawyer, but had only stated facts.

Mr. Rynders—Yes; a speech from an honest man is better than one from a lawyer.

Mr. King said he had heard with heartfelt pleasure the remarks of the gentleman from Massachusetts, and when informed that they were from Judge Loring, his heart beat with pride. (Laughter. Cries of "Not a judge; he is a doctor.")

Mr. King—Well, his name is Loring, and he is from Massachusetts, and he agreed with him that it was proper to receive seceders who were prepared to come and acknowledge the error of their ways.

Mr. Avery of North Carolina said that such speeches as had been made by gentlemen from Illinois and Pennsylvania were not calculated to elect their candidate. He held that the Southern delegates had a right here under their original commission.

Mr. Atkins of Tennessee said the Democracy of his State needed no pledges. Nominate a candidate honorably, and I will swim every river and ford every creek to secure his success. For the sake of our banner, for the sake of the Union, for God's sake harmonize. He wished for Jackson among us to bring harmony out of chaos. He concluded by moving the previous question.

Pending the question, a motion to adjourn was made and negatived.

Mr. Stewart of Md. demanded a vote by States on reconsidering the call for the previous question. Amid great tumult, the delegates all upon their feet, the roll was called, resulting in yeas 233, nays 18. So the previous question was seconded.

On motion of Mr. Richardson of Ill., the convention adjourned until 10 o'clock tomorrow.

There was public speaking in Monument Square tonight.

Every effort will be made to effect a compromise tonight.

Baltimore, 18th. There is said to be a letter here from Mayor Wood, denouncing the secessionists, declaring that Douglas can carry New York and favoring his nomination.

THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION AT BALTIMORE.

[SPECIAL DESPATCH TO THE TRANSCRIPT.]

EXCITEMENT INCREASING!

RUMORS AS TO ACTION OF THE NEW YORK DELEGATION.

MASS MEETINGS LAST NIGHT!

DETERMINATION TO NOMINATE DOUGLAS!

SPECULATIONS, ETC.

THE OBNOXIOUS AMENDMENT WITHDRAWN!

Seats of Seceders Refused to a Committee!

CONVENTION ADJOURNED TILL EVENING!

BALTIMORE, Tuesday, June 19th.

The weather is very stormy today, but the rain does not dampen the ardor of the delegates.

All parties are waiting for the New York delegation to show their hand.

The company at the hotels last night were thrown into great excitement by the report that the New Yorkers would leave Douglas, and, voting to admit seceders, would take such conservative nomination as the South might make.

Such is the excited state of feeling here that any new rumor is eagerly taken up.

Immense Douglas and anti-Douglas meetings were held in Monument square last evening.

Yancy, the leader of the fire-eaters, made a violent speech in opposition to the Little Giant.

Judge Meek of Alabama said that if Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Monroe were alive today, they would proudly walk by the side of the Southern seceders.

Speeches were made of a similar character by several ultra Southerners.

If the Douglas men are not satisfied with the proceedings of the Convention, it is asserted that they will call a mass meeting here, and proclaim him to be the Democratic candidate.

SECOND DESPATCH.

The obnoxious portion of Mr. Church's amendment, binding the Southern delegations admitted to the decision of the Convention, has been withdrawn.

The seats of all delegates made vacant by a secession at Charleston, have been referred to a Committee on Credentials.

The Convention has adjourned to five o'clock this P. M.

[TO THE ASSOCIATED PRESS.]

BALTIMORE, 19th.

The convention met at 10 o'clock. The reading of the journal was dispensed with.

The question pending was on ordering the main question on the several amendments relative to the admission of delegates.

Mr. Church of New York asked permission to make a proposition to harmonize the pending amendments, and arrange with regard to the admission of delegates.

Cries of hear him! hear him!

Mr. Church then stated that an arrangement had been made with Mr. Gilmore to withdraw the latter portion of his amendment, thus leaving before the Convention that portion referring the claims of delegates to the Committee on Credentials.

Applause and cries of "agreed."

The chair stated that as the call for the previous question had been seconded, the action desired by the gentleman from New York could only be accomplished by the Convention refusing to order the previous question, or by the unanimous consent for a suspension of the rules.

Mr. Church then asked for a unanimous consent to a suspension of the rules.

Cries—"Granted, granted."

The Chair understood the question to be on Mr. Gilmore's amendment.

Mr. Gilmore—I now withdraw my amendment. Mr. Church then withdrew the latter portion of his amendment, offering the following in its place:

Resolved, That the credentials of all persons claiming seats made vacant by the secession at Charleston, be referred to the Committee on Credentials, who shall examine and report the names of persons entitled to seats.

Mr. Sibley of Minnesota wished to know if the trouble of the delegation of that State could not be referred to the same committee.

Mr. Church hoped the question would be allowed to be put immediately, as discussion had already been had, and the introduction of other issues would tend to reopen it. He moved the previous question.

Mr. Cochrane raised a point of order.

Boston Transcript
June 19, 1860

Monthly Record of Current Events.

UNITED STATES.

A COMPLETE record of the proceedings in Congress for the last month would, as heretofore, consist mainly of political speeches. Foremost among these, in the Senate, are an elaborate re-statement and defense by Mr. Douglas of his theory of Popular Sovereignty; a brilliant reply by Senator Benjamin, of Louisiana; and an elaborate defense of Mr. Douglas by Senator Pugh, of Ohio; the passage of Mr. Davis's "Senatorial Platform," an abstract of which appears in our Record for May; a bitter speech on the Slavery question by Mr. Sumner—the first which he has delivered since he was assaulted by Mr. Brooks, four years ago; and a short and contemptuous reply from Mr. Chestnut, of South Carolina.—In the House, there has been somewhat less than the usual amount of discreditable conduct. The main incident of this kind occurred on the 1st of June, when Mr. Train, of Massachusetts, was interrupted by Mr. Houston, of Alabama, who persisted in speaking, notwithstanding a general call of "order." Mr. Train said that he should consider himself guilty of gross impropriety were he to continue speaking when he had no right to the floor. Mr. Houston asked whether the remark was intended to apply to him; and upon Mr. Train intimating that it was, Mr. Houston pronounced Mr. Train to be a disgraceful liar and scoundrel. A scene of great disorder ensued, in the midst of which Mr. Sherman proposed a resolution censuring Mr. Houston. This was temporarily withdrawn to give Mr. Houston an opportunity of apologizing to the House. He did so, and the matter was dropped.—Of actual business transacted, the principal items are these: The Homestead Bill, having passed the House, received important amendments in the Senate, and passed, by a majority of 44 to 8. The House, by a vote of 104 to 39, adhered to its own bill, which was returned to the Senate; this body refused to concur, and so the question rests for the present.—The treaty with Mexico has been rejected by the Senate.—In the House, the inquiries of the Covode Investigating Committee have brought to light gross abuses connected with the Public Printing, showing that large sums beyond the value of the work have been paid, and that immense sums have been given to the partisan press and for political purposes. A bill thereupon passed the House, by a vote of 120 to 56, establishing a Department of Public Printing, and reducing the rates of payment.

The "Constitutional Union Convention" for the nomination of candidates for President and Vice-President, met at Baltimore on the 10th of May. Hon. Washington Hunt, of New York, was chosen chairman. In lieu of a formal platform, the following preamble and resolution were adopted by acclamation:

"Whereas, experience has demonstrated that all platforms adopted by political parties have the effect to mislead and to cause political divisions by encouraging geographical and sectional parties; therefore,

"Resolved, That both patriotism and duty require that we should recognize no policy or principles but those resting on the broad foundation of the Constitution of the United States and the enforcement of the laws; and that as representatives of the Constitutional Union Party and of the country, we pledge ourselves to maintain, protect, and defend these principles, thus affording security at home and abroad, and securing the blessings of liberty to ourselves and posterity."

Upon the first ballot for a candidate for President the vote was: For Mr. Bell, 68½; Mr. Houston, 57;

Mr. Crittenden, 28; Mr. Everett, 25; Mr. McLean, 22; Mr. Graham, 22; Mr. Rives, 13; for other candidates 18½ votes were cast. Upon the second ballot nearly all the votes were given to Mr. Bell, and his nomination was made unanimous. For Vice-President the only name proposed was that of Mr. Everett, and his nomination was made by acclamation, without a formal vote. Hon. John Bell, of Tennessee, and Hon. Edward Everett, of Massachusetts, are thus the nominees of the "Union Party."

The Republican National Convention met at Chicago on the 16th of May. Hon. George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, was chosen chairman. The "Platform," which was unanimously adopted, consists of seventeen resolutions. We give an abstract of this, quoting the distinctive resolutions in full:

1. Affirms the necessity for the formation and perpetuity of the Republican Party; and reasserts the propositions of the Preamble to Declaration of Independence.—2. Declares that the principles of the Declaration and of the Constitution are essential to the preservation of the Republic, and that the Union must be preserved.—3. Affirms that the nation owes its prosperity to the Union; denounces all schemes of disunion; and congratulates the country that no Republican member of Congress has uttered or countenanced any of the threats of disunion which have been made by Democratic members.

4. "That the maintenance inviolate of the rights of the States, and especially the right of each State to order and control its own domestic institutions, according to its own judgment exclusively, is essential to that balance of power on which the perfection and endurance of our political faith depends, and we denounce the lawless invasion by armed force of any State or Territory, no matter under what pretext, as among the gravest of crimes."

5. Censures the present Administration for "its subservience to the exaction of a sectional interest," especially as manifested in its efforts to force the Lecompton Constitution upon Kansas, and otherwise.—6. Denounces the extravagance of the Federal Government, and urges a return to a rigid economy and strict accountability of Federal officers.

7. "That the new dogma that the Constitution, of its own force, carries slavery into any or all the Territories of the United States, is a dangerous political heresy, at variance with the explicit provisions of that instrument itself, with contemporaneous exposition, and with legislative and judicial precedent, is revolutionary in its tendency, and subversive of the peace and harmony of the country."

8. "That the normal condition of all the territory of the United States is that of freedom; that as our republican fathers, when they had abolished slavery in all our national territory, ordained that no person should be deprived of life, liberty, or property without due process of law, it becomes our duty, by legislation, whenever such legislation is necessary, to maintain this provision of the Constitution against all attempts to violate it; and we deny the authority of Congress, of a Territorial Legislature, or of any individuals, to give legal existence to slavery in any Territory of the United States."

9. Denounces the opening of the African slave-trade, and urges Congress to "take prompt and efficient measures for the total and final suppression of that infamous traffic."—10. Censures the recent vetoes by the Governors of Kansas and Nebraska of the Acts of the Legislatures prohibiting slavery in those Territories.—11. Asserts that Kansas should at once be admitted as a State, under the Constitution recently formed.

12. "That while providing revenue for the support of the General Government by duties upon imports, sound policy requires such an adjustment of these imposts as to encourage the development of the industrial interest of the whole country; and we commend that policy of national exchanges which secures to the working men liberal wages, to agriculture remunerating prices, to mechanics and manufacturers an adequate reward for their skill, labor, and enterprise, and to the nation commercial prosperity and independence."

13. "That we protest against any sale or alienation to others of the public lands held by actual settlers, and against any view of the free Homestead policy which regards the settlers as paupers or supplicants for public bounty, and we demand the passage by Congress of the

complete and satisfactory Homestead measure which has already passed the House."

14. "That the National Republican party is opposed to any change in our Naturalization laws, or any State legislation by which the rights of citizenship hitherto accorded to immigrants from foreign lands shall be abridged or impaired; and in favor of giving a full and efficient protection to the rights of all classes of citizens, whether native or naturalized, both at home and abroad."

15. Advocates appropriations by Congress for River and Harbor Improvements of a national character.—16. Affirms that the Federal Government should render immediate and efficient aid to the construction of a railroad to the Pacific; and as a preliminary thereto should establish a daily overland mail.—17. Invites the co-operation of all citizens, however much they may differ on other questions, who agree in the support of the foregoing principles.

On the 18th the Convention proceeded to ballot for President and Vice-President, with the following result, 230 votes, a majority of the delegates, being required for a choice:

FIRST BALLOT.

Mr. Seward (N. Y.).....173	Mr. McLean (Ohio).....12
Mr. Lincoln (Ill.).....102	Mr. Collamer (Vt.).....10
Mr. Cameron (Penn.)... 50	Mr. Wade (Ohio)..... 3
Mr. Chase (Ohio)..... 49	Mr. Sumner (Mass.)..... 1
Mr. Bates (Missouri) .. 48	Mr. Read (Penn.)..... 1
Mr. Dayton (N. J.)..... 14	Mr. Fremont (Cal.)..... 1

SECOND BALLOT.

Mr. Seward184	Mr. Dayton10
Mr. Lincoln181	Mr. McLean 8
Mr. Chase 42	Mr. Cameron 2
Mr. Bates 35	Mr. Clay 2

THIRD BALLOT.

Mr. Lincoln354	Mr. Dayton 1
Mr. Seward110	Mr. McLean 1

For Vice-President, the following was the

FIRST BALLOT.

Mr. Hamlin (Maine)....194	Mr. Davis (Mass.)..... 8
Mr. Clay (Ky.).....101	Mr. Houston (Texas).... 6
Mr. Hickman (Penn.)... 58	Mr. Dayton (N. J.)..... 3
Mr. Reeder (Penn.).... 51	Mr. Read (Penn.)..... 1
Mr. Banks (Mass.).... 38	

SECOND BALLOT.

Mr. Hamlin367	Mr. Hickman.....13
Mr. Clay 86	

Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, is, therefore, the Republican candidate for President, and Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, for Vice-President, at the coming election.

The Japanese Embassadors arrived at the port of New York on the 9th of May, on board the United States steamer *Roanoke*. The vessel proceeded at once to Washington, without stopping at New York. The strangers were received with great distinction, as guests of the nation, and the treaty which they bore was formally ratified. At the time when we write they are on the point of proceeding to New York.—A destructive tornado passed over a portion of Illinois and Iowa on the 3d of June, occasioning great loss of life. The killed will exceed 150. The tornado traveled ninety miles in Iowa and seventy in Illinois, causing an immense destruction of property.—A severe conflict with Indians occurred on the 12th of May in California, in the vicinity of the new Washoe mines. A party of 105 volunteers, commanded by Major Ormsby, went in pursuit of a body of savages who were supposed to have committed several murders. Coming up with Indians who lay in ambush in a narrow pass, they were fired upon, and a desultory skirmish ensued, which lasted until the ammunition of the volunteers was expended. The Indians then rushed in, pouring volleys upon the whites, who fled in every direction, hotly pursued by the savages. Of the 105 volunteers only 41 had returned alive, and 21 were known to have been killed; leaving the fate of 43 unknown at the latest dates. The Indians

were supposed to number about 500 men, well armed, and having an abundance of ammunition.—The United States steamers *Mohawk* and *Wyandot*, cruising off the coast of Cuba, have recently captured several slavers, and brought their cargoes to Key West. One of these slavers, the *Wildfire*, lately owned in New York, had on board 510 native Africans, brought from the Congo River; another, the *William*, late of Baltimore, had 560, who had been purchased at Whydah, of the King of Dahomey. In all, there were lately 1700 captured slaves gathered at Key West, among whom great mortality was occurring. Provision has been made by Congress for sending these Africans to Liberia.

The Methodist General Conference adjourned on Monday, June 4, after a session of nearly five weeks. The most important subjects acted upon were "slavery" and "lay representation" in the Conference. An effort was made to change the *General Rule* upon slavery, so as to make it prohibit "the buying, selling, or holding of men, women, or children, with an intention to enslave them." This amendment, not obtaining the requisite vote of two-thirds of the delegates, failed. Efforts were then directed to the alteration of the "Chapter on Slavery," the provisions of which are not considered by the Methodists to have the force of terms of communion. The old "chapter," which forbids the holding of slaves by ministers and lay officers of the Church, and requires all slaveholding members to give their slaves certain privileges, was struck out, and the following substituted:

"QUESTION: What shall be done for the extirpation of the evil of slavery?"

"ANSWER: We declare that we are as much as ever convinced of the great evil of slavery. We believe that the buying, selling, or holding of human beings, to be used as chattels, is inconsistent with the Golden Rule, and with that Rule in our Discipline which requires all who desire to continue among us to 'do no harm, and to avoid evil of every kind.' We therefore affectionately admonish all our preachers and people to keep themselves pure from this great evil, and to seek its extirpation by all lawful and Christian means."

A subsequent resolution declared the new chapter to be not "statutory" but merely "advisory." The subject of "lay delegation" was received with more favor by this than by any preceding General Conference. A report embodying a plan of lay representation was offered, but was not adopted. Resolutions were finally passed expressing the approval by the Conference of lay delegation, if desired by the people, and directing

"All the preachers in charge in the United States and Territories to submit the subject of lay delegation in the General Conference to all the male members of the Church over twenty-one years of age, in full connection, at meetings, of which due notice shall be given—to be held during the interim between the meetings of the annual Conferences of 1861 and 1862—the results to be certified to the annual Conferences; further, that the Bishops submit the question to the annual Conferences in 1862, and that they inform the next General Conference of the result."

MEXICO.

The latest advices from *Mexico* place the "Liberals" once more in the ascendent. According to these Uruga, one of the Constitutional commanders, after gaining considerable successes, was marching upon the capital at the head of a considerable force. In the meanwhile, Zuloaga, who some time since gave up his nominal Presidency to Miramon, with the title of "President Substitute," had issued a decree removing the latter. Miramon arrested Zuloaga, and having raised money by a forced loan, marched out from the capital on the 10th of May,

carrying Zuloaga with him, to meet Uruga. A decisive conflict between these two commanders was daily anticipated.

EUROPE.

The revolt in Sicily against the Government of the King of Naples has assumed a formidable aspect. The first reports had represented it as a merely local rising, which was speedily suppressed. It now appears to be a part of an extended plan for the creation of a "United Italy," at the head of which is to be the King of Sardinia. Mazzini, the ultra-repub-

lican agitator, has issued a proclamation urging the Sicilians to rise in arms, overthrow their Bourbon monarch, and annex themselves to Sardinia. On the 5th of May Garibaldi sailed from Genoa for Sicily, at the head of a force of 2200 men. The expedition was clearly made with the tacit consent of the Sardinian Government. He landed at Marsala, and, according to the most reliable accounts, after gaining important advantages over the royal troops, had gained a position which insured him the possession of Palermo, the chief city of the island.

Literary Notices.

The Life of Jacob Gruber, by W. P. STRICKLAND. (Published by Carlton and Porter.) In this volume is described the career of one of the original geniuses who are not unfrequently met with in the Ministry of the Methodist Church in the United States. Without the advantages of early education, reared in a humble condition of society, and possessing a native eccentricity of character, his downright simplicity of purpose, transparent honesty of disposition, and glowing zeal in the discharge of his duty, raised him to a conspicuous position in the itinerancy of the Church, and have furnished materials for an uncommonly interesting piece of biography. He was of a family of Pennsylvania Germans, and brought up in the faith of the great leader of the Reformation; but, while still young, was deeply impressed by the eloquent earnestness of certain circuit preachers, and, together with his parents, joined the followers of John Wesley, who at that time formed a comparatively obscure and unimportant sect in this country. He was soon convinced that it was his duty to enter the ministry, and in the year 1800, at the age of twenty-two, received his first appointment at the hands of the "intrepid Asbury." Engaging in his work with apostolic self-devotion, he rapidly became master of a wide influence, and distinguished for the energy and zeal with which he encountered difficulties and perils in the fulfillment of his mission. The narrative of his labors, which are vividly described by Dr. Strickland, exhibits a man of genuine courage and daring enterprise, never quailing at the prospect of danger, overcoming obstacles with iron persistency and unflinching good humor; of sturdy good sense in the accomplishment of his purposes, though addicted to a peculiar quaintness of expression and illustration; fond of joke and repartee, and well skilled in their use, but always employing every gift for the promotion of the cause to which he was heart and soul devoted. The volume also possesses not a little historical interest, as illustrative of the early condition of the Methodist Church in America.

The West Indies and the Spanish Main, by ARTHUR TROLLORPE. (Published by Harper and Brothers.) The present social, political, and industrial condition of the West India islands and a portion of Central America suggests the principal topics of this lively volume. In a brief visit to the above-named localities, a little more than a year ago—for purposes, we believe, connected with governmental business—he jots down his daily impressions, forming an off-hand, free-and-easy record, with great vivacity of style, and an evident aim at fairness and accuracy of statement. On arriving at Kingston, Jamaica, he was struck with the marks of stagna-

tion and decay that were visible on every side. The town was more completely destitute of every point of attraction than any other which he ever visited. On the map it indeed presents a fine appearance. The streets all run in parallels. There is an extensive square, numerous public buildings, and more than a plenty of places of worship. Every thing makes a fair show; but on further observation it proves to be an illusion. More than half the streets are not filled with houses. But whether filled or not they have a ragged, disorderly, and forlorn aspect. The houses are mostly of wood, without paint, and in a ruinous condition. The streets are destitute of side-walks, and are neither paved nor macadamized. Hence, in dry weather they form merely a bed of sand, and in wet weather a driving water-course. The unfortunate pedestrian has to wade down the middle of this, with a tropical sun on his head, and the heat more intense than in almost any other town in the West Indies. It is no wonder that walking should not be a fashionable amusement. There are neither street lamps nor gas. Scarcely any Europeans, or even white Creoles, live in the town; but they have country seats, called pens, at some little distance. But though the chief town of Jamaica found little favor in the eyes of the not over-fastidious traveler, he makes amends by his admiration of the island in general. The scenery is almost equal to that of Switzerland and the Tyrol, and the temperature among the mountains agreeable and salubrious. The ancient hospitality, when the planters were rolling in wealth, has, it is true, to a great extent, passed away; but no respectable stranger fails of a generous welcome. Country life in Jamaica certainly has numerous attractions. The day commences at six o'clock, when a cup of coffee, with a small portion of dry toast, is taken in bed. After that the toilet is made, with great deliberation, so that it is nearly eight o'clock before you leave your room. At ten, or half past ten, the whole island sits down to substantial breakfast, consisting of fish, beef-steaks—probably with the favorite condiment of onions—potatoes, yams, plantains, eggs, and half a dozen varieties of preserved meats, sent from England in tin cans. Tea and chocolate are on the table; and beer, wine, rum, and brandy on the sideboard. The inspection of the estate, or of the sugar-works in the season, soon wears through the day, and at five preparations commence for the six o'clock dinner. The process of dressing is not to be trifled with, but must be performed with due deliberation, or else you get heated quicker than you have cooled down. Full dress is the order of the day, because black clothing is the thing in England. After dinner no wine is taken, or, at the utmost, one glass with the ladies, and—if you choose—one

FOR PRESIDENT,



OF ILLINOIS.

FOR VICE PRESIDENT,

HANNIBAL HAMLIN,
OF MAINE.

The Enemy's Forlorn Hope.

Many over-confident Republicans seem to imagine that, with the distractions which are dividing the "indivisible Democracy," the success of the Lincoln and Hamlin ticket is certain. That the fracture in the Democratic party is a complete one, that the factions into which it is broken hate each other cordially and mortally, and that in most of the States this internal difference will keep the party broken, perhaps and probably forever cannot be doubted. But when utmost account has been made of these things, the certainty that Mr. Lincoln will be elected to the Presidency has not yet been reached. One thing may still prevent that most desirable result. We refer to such a conglomeration of all the Anti-Republican elements in New York as shall keep that State from giving its electoral vote to Mr. Lincoln.

The loss of New York would lose the field to the Republicans, and it is far from being certain that those Machiavellian schemers—Richmond, Caggar, Wood and Brooks will not come to terms, the object of which will be the rallying of a motley host strong enough to carry the election. The election being carried, the unprincipled bargainers would cheerfully sell the electoral vote of the State to whatever interest would be most likely to defeat the Republicans.

The friends of Mr. Lincoln should not, therefore, be deceived by appearances. They should not infer from the almost inter-ethnic war in the Democratic camp in Indiana, Illinois and Ohio, that the battle is as good as won. The States named are not to be the test-field. The carrying of New York by compromise and stratagem is the forlorn hope of the foe.

It is to be hoped that in the pivoting, as well as all the lesser fights, the party of oppression will get the defeat it deserves.

The Feud Between the Clans.

The sweet little quarrel between our neighbors of the "indivisible Democracy" is progressing nicely. Douglas men and Breckenridge men daily love each other less and less. That eminent personage, "J. B., Pres. U. S., has lately been doing his utmost towards embittering the pending hostilities. In a stump speech made by him in Washington, a few days since, he proclaimed himself a Breckenridge man, and denounced Pop. Sov. and its distinguished inventor roughly. The Douglas prints, of course, reward the "Public Functionary's" intrusions with double-distilled reproach and even abuse. And so it goes, on every hand.

It is quite clear that the quarrel works mischief for the Douglas interest. The Little Giant is losing ground daily. Office-holders and office-seekers are everywhere leaving him, and leading prints are putting Breckenridge's name in place of his at the mast head.

We hope the Douglas interest will not be altogether wiped out before election. The present complication of affairs among the Democracy is both interesting and entertaining. It would be a pity to have the show cease before the cast is fully played out.

Prominent Democratic politicians from Pennsylvania, at Washington assert that Lincoln will carry that State by a decided popular majority.

The Democratic fire-eaters have got Herschel V. Johnson as their candidate for the Vice Presidency. We guess Herschel's chances are so small that he will have to use his big telescope to discover them.

We have placed at the head of our editorial columns a correct likeness of Hon. ABRAHAM LINCOLN, whom we expect to see at the head of the nation.

A Democratic editor, of Missouri, says, "If we were a fool we might be induced to oppose Breckenridge." We protest against this abuse of the subjunctive mood.

Breckinridge Convention.

The supporters of Hon. J. C. Breckinridge in Massachusetts held their first State Convention at Tremont Temple this forenoon, for the purposes of organization, and for the nomination of a State ticket, and candidates for electors. The hall was handsomely trimmed with flags, and on the front of the gallery were mottoes from recent speeches of Breckinridge and Lane. Portraits of Washington, Jackson, Daniel Webster, Franklin Pierce and others, were placed in different parts of the hall. Flagg's Band played in the area fronting the main entrance while the delegates were collecting. The arrangements were such as to initiate the new party in this Commonwealth, in a spirited manner, if the necessary popular enthusiasm had been manifested.

After the delegates had arrived, the convention occupied about two-thirds of the floor of the hall — A. L. Cushing, Esq., called the body to order, and a committee upon permanent organization was appointed. While the committee was engaged in selecting the officers, Col. Isaac H. Wright addressed the audience, congratulating them upon the respectable assemblage of the National Democratic party of Massachusetts.

Mr. Wright said that the Democratic party had vanquished the forces of disunion in '56 under Fremont, but now some of the Democratic leaders had given the recreant order to halt, ground arms. The speaker observed that the tidings from Pennsylvania were of a glorious character, and there was no doubt that State would still prove the keystone of the Union. The election in Maine shows what the "mongrel, adulterated" Democracy, under Judge Douglas, can do when they have full sway. The result will be a lesson to the Democrats of the South to support Breckinridge and Lane. The doctrine of "squatter sovereignty," advocated by Douglas, was examined at length by the speaker, whose remarks were frequently applauded.

The Committee on Organization reported the following list:

For President—Hon. Richard Frothingham, Jr. of Charlestown.

Vice-Presidents—Selden Crockett, of Suffolk; Charles Lewis, Barnstable; Charles T. Buckley, Berkshire; Jas. D. Thompson, Bristol; Eliakin Norton, Dukes; George Johnson, Essex; Johningham, Franklin; Luther Upton, Hampden; H. H. Cullison, Hampshire; F. A. Hildreth, Middlesex; Eben W. Allen, Nantucket; Harrison Fay, Norfolk; W. W. Comstock, Plymouth; M. Cook, Worcester.

Secretaries—Alfred Kittredge, of Haverhill; Matthew Foley, Roxbury; Reuben Noble, Westfield; Andrew Mackie, Jr., New Bedford.

A motion was made that the report of the committee be laid on the table, and the Convention proceed to ballot for permanent President. After discussion, the motion to lay upon the table was carried by a vote of 349 yeas to 147 nays. A committee was then appointed to receive and count the votes for President. The committee reported as follows:

Whole number of votes.....	539
Necessary to a choice.....	295
Dr. George B. Loring.....	379
A. L. Cushing.....	137
Richard Frothingham, Jr.....	53

So that Mr. Loring was chosen President of the Convention.

Previous to the vote, Mr. Broadhead, of Charlestown, in behalf of the gentleman who had proposed Mr. Frothingham's name for President, in the committee, withdrew it from the Convention.

Dr. Loring, in assuming the chair, expressed his thanks for the honor conferred upon him, and alluded to the crisis which had come upon the Democratic party. He said there were no squatter sovereigns in the days of the revolution. Our Democratic faith is that of the fathers. We may not be strong in numbers at home, but are strong in our doctrines. We do not believe in an irrepressible conflict between Liberty and Slavery, between Capital and Labor in this country.

There is only one safe side on these questions—that taken by the Democracy which contends that property should be protected in the territories. There is only one platform upon the subject—the resolutions adopted by the Baltimore Convention in 1860. The mob which nominated Judge Douglas forgot to make a platform. The speaker said no more painful duty can be performed than the recital of the steps by which a gallant leader, once astray, passes over to the enemy's camp.

Notwithstanding, Mr. Loring made the effort, showing how a democratic statesman was reduced to a petty intriguer, and peaking of the "unprincipled operations" of Douglas at Baltimore. He was particularly severe upon the "Little Giant." "They tell us," said the doctor, "that defeat awaits us." "Don't believe it. The country is not yet delivered over to fanaticism and demagogism." The Doctor's speech was a long one, and embraced the whole range of party politics.

The report of the committee on permanent organization was taken from the table, and the list of Vice Presidents and Secretaries was adopted, with an amendment adding the names of A. L. Cushing of Randolph, at the head of the Vice Presidents, substituting Mr. McEvoy's name for Mr. Hildreth, and making Col. Isaac Emery of Boston a Vice President.

On motion of Hon. Geo. W. Warren, of Charlestown, a committee of seven was appointed by the Chair to prepare resolutions for the Convention.

A motion was adopted that the Convention, when it adjourns, take a recess until two o'clock.

After voting that the delegates from each county should report a member of the State Central Committee, and rejecting a motion that the delegates from each Congressional district should report an Elector, at the adjournment, the Convention adjourned till two o'clock.

It is understood that the resolutions will defend the doctrine advanced by Breckinridge respecting slavery in the territories, will show little quarter for Douglas, and favor a fusion with other parties in no degree. Gen. B. F. Butler will probably be nominated for Governor by the Convention by acclamation, and the general feeling among the delegates appears to be strongly against fusion. Gen. Butler and Collector Whitney are expected to address the Convention this afternoon.

Bell and Everett State Convention.

[Special Despatch to Transcript.]

WORCESTER, 12th.

The weather could not be more unfavorable for the Convention. The rain is falling in torrents, and will doubtless keep many away from the Convention.

There is as yet no concentration upon a candidate for Governor.

Mr. Wilder has been telegraphed to withdraw his declination, but he refuses.

Erastus Bigelow has been tried and also refuses. The Boston special train arrived about a quarter past eleven. It consisted of thirteen cars containing 500 delegates. They were met at the depot by some two hundred of the delegates here, and escorted to the City Hall, where the Convention is held and which was crowded.

At half-past eleven o'clock the Convention was called to order by Leverett Saltonstall, Chairman of the State Committee, who said that gentlemen who were not delegates could be accommodated in Horticultural Hall, and thus make room for delegates here.

Thomas Colt, of Pittsfield, was chosen Chairman pro tem., and was greeted with three cheers. He thanked the delegates for the honor, and congratulated the Convention upon its size and respectability. He said that they had come together to found a new party—to preserve the honor of the Commonwealth and the brotherhood of the Union. He was willing to commit the interests of the country to such men as he saw before them.

Mr. Wyman of Roxbury was appointed Chairman of the Committee on Credentials.

Mr. J. G. Goodrich of Pittsfield, was appointed Chairman of the Committee on Permanent Organization.

Daniel Warren of Milton, was chosen temporary Secretary.

Hon. Levi Lincoln was invited by a unanimous vote to take a seat upon the platform, as he did so he was heartily cheered.

The Committee on permanent organization reported as follows: President—Osmyn Baker, of Northampton; Vice Presidents—Suffolk—Albert Fearing, J. W. Paige, Isaac Story of Boston; Essex—R. F. Rogers of Salem, General Jno. Gale of Lawrence; Middlesex—Clément Meserve of Hopkinton, General Jas Dana of Charlestown, Danl. Robertson of Lowell; Worcester—Wm. Mixer of Haverhill, Walter Haywood of Fitchburg; Hampshire—Edward Dickens of Amherst, Hampden—Henry Morse of Byfield, Franklin—H. Y. W. Clapp of Greenfield; Berkshire—Increase Sumner of Great Barrington, H. Arnold of North Adams; Norfolk—J. S. Stepper of Roxbury, George M. Brown of Dorchester; Plymouth—Winslow Warren of Tisbury, Amos Bates of Uxbridge; Bristol—L. L. Crocker of Taunton; Barnstable—Elijah Smith of Falmouth; Nantucket—Wm. Loring of Nantucket; Dukes—Dan. Fisher of Edgartown.

Secretaries—Daniel Warren of Milton, N. W. Baker of Boston, George W. Lane of Westfield, Edward F. Adams of Haverhill, Henry Hill of Worcester, Seth R. Thomas of New Bedford.

Mr. Baker, on being conducted to the chair, requested Rev. Mr. Hill of Worcester, to lead in prayer.

The President then addressed the convention, returning his hearty thanks for the honor conferred upon him, and said he thought he saw in the countenances of the convention that he need fear no unfriendly criticism, because the convention had its eye on its duties.

He congratulated those present on the efforts to get together the staid, conservative sentiment of the people of Massachusetts, and he believed they stood upon a platform of firm and settled principles; not a rotten and rickety platform, which has to be regulated at every election, which may be likened to a turn-table on a great political railroad, to let on one set of principles on one track, and shove them off on another; take on a two years amendment for Massachusetts, and run it off in Wisconsin for a German emigrant. (Great applause.)

He was cheered to see so many old men here, and

also so many middle aged men. He then announced the Convention ready for business.

On motion of Mr. Saltonstall of Newton, a committee of seven was appointed to prepare an address to the people. Mr. S. was named by the chair as the head of the committee. Mr. Richardson of Cambridge moved that a committee of one from each congressional district be appointed to report the names of two electors at large.

George C. Richardson was appointed chairman.

On motion of Abiel S. Lewis of Framingham, a committee was appointed to collect votes on an informal ballot for the different candidates for Governor. There were loud calls for Wilder votes, Clifford votes, and Saltonstall votes.

Inquiry was made if any of the candidates had declined.

Mr. Saltonstall said that he had a letter from Mr. Clifford, positively declining to accept any office.

Mr. S. King said that he had a despatch from Mr. Wilder, in addition to his letter, positively withdrawing his name.

The name of Otis P. Lord of Salem, was named as a proper person for candidate.

The committee on credentials reported 229 towns, represented by 1353 delegates and 234 substitutes.

While the committee was counting the votes, J. Thomas Stevenson, of Boston, was asked to address the Convention, which he did in an earnest and eloquent manner, and was warmly applauded.

Douglas State Convention.

[Special Despatch to Transcript.]

SPRINGFIELD, 12th.

The Convention met at 11 o'clock. A heavy rain is prevailing. One thousand delegates are in the hall.

The Convention was called to order by Nathan Wood of Fitchburg.

Wm. L. Smith of Springfield was appointed temporary Chairman. He said the large number of delegates present indicated that the party was not divided, but was grafted in opposition to all sectionalism, and in support of Douglas.

S. S. Drew, of Middlesex, was appointed Secretary.

On motion of Mr. Treanor, of Boston, the Convention proceeded to ballot for a President, with the following result:

Whole number of votes.....	811
Oliver Stevens of Boston had.....	449
E. C. Bailey of Boston.....	339
A. H. Howland of New Bedford.....	11

The election of Mr. Stevens was made unanimous, on motion of Mr. Bailey.

Mr. Stevens returned thanks, and said the party would cling to Democratic principles more than ever now that sectionalism is rife, and that the attempt to disrupt them would be ineffectual.

They would show opposition to Southern sectionalists, and to the instigators of sedition and murder at home. They would ask those who agree with them in support of the Union to join to redeem the State.

On motion of Mr. Ross of Groton, a committee was appointed to report names to complete the organization. Mr. Spinney of Boston, Chairman.

On motion of Mr. Bates of Plymouth, the Chair appointed a Committee on Resolutions.

Dr. Gardner of Swansey opposed the nomination of Judge Merrick as a Douglas man, on the mere supposition that he invited Mr. Douglas to his house.

Ruled out of order.

Mr. Carpenter of Worcester was about to explain

Mr. Merrick's position, but was ruled down.

Sept 1860

THE PRESIDENTIAL CANVASS.

The Primary and Paramount Duty of Defeating the Democrats.

SPEECH OF HENRY WINTER DAVIS.

In the *Times* of yesterday morning we published exclusively a full telegraphic synopsis of the speech of Hon. HENRY WINTER DAVIS, of Maryland, made at Baltimore on Thursday night. We now give a *verbatim* report. The speech was delivered at a meeting of the old American Party, which was very numerously attended. It was heard with profound interest and attention, and was greeted throughout with the most cordial applause. The following is the speech:

From our Special Reporter.

FELLOW-CITIZENS OF BALTIMORE: I regret that absence on public duty has prevented my being with you to celebrate the first note of triumph over the dissolution of the Democratic Party. [Applause.] When the resolution of the American members of the Legislature of Maryland, which has just been read to you, was passed, there was a Democratic Party in existence—one which was an "old bruise!"—[laughter]—Mr. THOMPSON described Great Britain, roaming throughout the world, thrashing whomsoever it pleased, and shaking its fist in the face of all creation—domineering over everybody; impudent, intolerant and tyrannical. [Applause.] Now, the Democratic Party is divided between the warring elements, headed respectively by Mr. DOUGLAS and Mr. BRECKINRIDGE; who will have the honor of burying the body is not for us to determine. [Applause.] That is left for whichever of these two fragments shall turn out to be the stronger at the end of the contest, and in that way to arrogate to itself to be the sole, united, undivided, universal, national, omnipotent Democratic Party. [Laughter.] Our Democratic brethren last year passed at Frederick a resolution saying that upon the integrity of the Democratic Party depended the integrity of the Union. Then, as the party is gone, where is the Union? [Laughter.] Where were its fragments must likewise go the fragments of the Union; and, in accordance with that unfulfilled but anxiously expressed prophecy, a large portion of that party is now engaged in presaging that if they happen to be defeated that calamitous result must still follow.

NECESSITY FOR A CHANGE IN PARTIES.

Gentlemen, it is a matter of profound gratitude in my mind that whatever else may turn up, there is an end of that intolerable domination [applause], than which none, without exception, can be worse—than which none can be more inimical to the peace, the happiness, the integrity, the great interests of this country—than which none can push this country nearer to the brink of the precipice of disunion, and the death of which confers more strength upon it than the death of all the political organizations that have ever existed. [Loud applause.] It is time there should be a change. Maryland has thought so for a long time, and she has struggled long and heroically. She struggled under the heroic Scott and failed. She struggled under the conservative and statesman-like FILLMORE—[applause]—and failed; failed, not by any default of hers,—failed because there were "weak knees" elsewhere,—because we were afraid to meet the Democratic party on its own ground, and to hold responsible for its own principles. Maryland alone, of all the States, kept her banner floating in the breeze, and she stands to this day with a more brilliant escutcheon than any other State in the Union. [Applause.] For heroic devotion, for unshaken pluck, for perfect resolution to do as she pleases and leave the rest of the country to do as it pleases. [Applause.] And now, under another leader, equally acceptable, of wider public experience, of old Whig antecedents, who has held the most intimate relations to that great statesman to whom Maryland was always too proud to give her voice,—first in every department of the public service, true upon every great question that touches the real interests of the country,—Maryland places the names of JOHN BELL and EDWARD EVERETT before her people. [Immense cheering.] And I take it that as deeply as she feels the necessity of a change, just so deeply and so firmly is she resolved that for them in November her vote shall be cast. [Applause.] Whatever timid men may do elsewhere—whatever

ever doubt and hesitation may drive other people to do, let what will come, the vote of Maryland will assuredly be cast in November for those two men; and having done so, she will have discharged her duty, and her skirts will be free from the responsibility of whatever may subsequently occur.

CONDITION OF THE GOVERNMENT.

I know, fellow-citizens, the deep feeling which pervades you upon the condition of the National Government. I know that you, as I do, think that the most important of all things is a change in the Government; and, having come to that conclusion, that it is our duty to effect that change in such a manner as shall best secure the peace and the happiness of the country—but that in no contingency, under no combination of circumstances, for no purpose whatever, are we to aid directly or indirectly in continuing in power those whom we now have a chance of ejecting. [Applause.]

DERELICTIONS OF THE DEMOCRACY.

Why is a change so necessary? Is it that the Democratic Party is fit to be intrusted with the power of the sword—that party which has allowed innocent and honest American citizens to be shot down in the streets of Washington by American soldiers? [Loud cries of indignation.] Is it fit to be trusted with the sword which has converted the army of the United States into a *posse comitatus* to enforce the service of process, and to subject the people of the Territories to military rule? Are they fit to be intrusted with the power of the sword who have wielded it so weakly in Utah, so illegally in Paraguay? Are they fit to be trusted with the power of the sword who, forgetful of all the obligations of international law, have fired into neutral vessels, in or near the port of Vera Cruz—an act so flagrantly illegal that the Courts of the country had to discharge the captured vessels as not being legal prize? Are they fit to be trusted with the power of the sword who have sought from Congress authority to use it whenever, in the opinion of the President, American citizens may be injured or American interests may in his discretion require its exercise abroad against any of our South American Republican sisters? Are they fit to be intrusted with the sword who desire the privilege, and have endeavored to obtain it, of protecting the transit routes without the authority of Congress given at the particular time, but according to the mere will and humor of the President? Are they fit to be intrusted with the power of the sword who have recommended to Congress that the President should be allowed in time of profound peace, without any serious provocation, to take military possession of, and hold for an indefinite time, two great States of the Mexican Republic, Chihuahua and Sonora? [Cries of "Never."] Why, my friends, we had better at once give the whole power of war to the President. These Democrats have forgotten all the limitations on the Executive power, and they are grasping at the power to wield the sword at the pleasure of the President, regardless of the will of the people, whenever and whenever it may suit his pleasure or his discretion.

Again, are they fit to be intrusted with the direction of the finances and the commercial interests of the country—they who have, in a time of profound peace, run up a debt of some \$10,000,000 for the ordinary expenses of the Government rather than vary the tariff to supply its wants—who have swollen its expenses for one year to nearly or over \$50,000,000? Who thought that the crisis of 1857 was a passing breeze that but ruffled the surface merely of our commercial transaction—that terrific storm which turned deep from its very depths the sea of commerce, and left strewn all along the vast coasts of the Republic the hopeless wrecks of our greatest fortunes?

DEMOCRATIC CORRUPTION.

Are they fit to be intrusted with the administration of the Government? Read the Fort Snelling report. Read the Willitt's Point report. Read the Covode Committee's report. Read Mr. SHREWMAN's report on the Navy-yards and their corruptions. Read of the political brokerage for contracts. Read of the distribution among members of Congress of the patron-

age of the Navy-yard in Brooklyn, as divided up among the Democratic representatives of the City of New-York. Read of the Navy-yard in Philadelphia, which was made a receptacle for illegal votes in order that Democratic members might be returned to Congress. Read of the reckless use of the public money in the elections. Read of the President himself directing the distribution of the surplus compensation from one of the printing departments for party purposes among party papers, instead of recommending that the ratio of compensation should be reduced by Congress. Is any party fit to be intrusted by the Government which not only thus abuses its powers but asserts its freedom from Congressional investigation into acts so detrimental to the public service? [Applause.] Fellow-citizens, are these gentlemen fit to be intrusted with the government of a free Republic, after their conduct in Kansas, where they attempted to force by violence upon the people a Constitution that they utterly repelled and abhorred—who then attempted to force through the two Houses of Congress a law to make that Constitution the Constitution of Kansas, when the people had utterly repudiated it—and then, when Kansas had adopted another Constitution, allowed it to lie for nearly a year upon the tables of Congress without its having been taken up for action in the Senate?

Are they fit to be intrusted with the conduct of the Government, who could so far forget the interests of the great agricultural classes as to allow to be vetoed, after they had voted against it in the lower House, the Agricultural College Bill of Mr. MORGAN, of Vermont, which would have given the State of Maryland \$150,000 to endow her new Agricultural College? [Applause.] Are they fit to be allowed to take care of the public interests who prefer to go on borrowing money, day after day and year after year, rather than remodel the tariff, so as to protect all the varied interests of American industry? [Loud applause.]

THE TARIFF.

Even Mr. DOUGLAS, in his campaign through Pennsylvania, found it essential to make a slight reference to the condition of the revenue laws and the tariff, as a condition precedent to asking a vote in that great State. And yet the Democratic majority in the Senate allowed a tariff bill, passed by an overwhelming vote of the lower House, to lie on their table for weeks and weeks, at any moment of which they could have taken it up and passed it, and thus restored to life and energy all the great material interests of the American Republic. But there it rests, and there it is likely to rest.

Fellow-citizens! These are the reasons why we want a change of Government. These are the reasons why we want to oust from position those who have abused or neglected properly to exercise the powers of the Government, and to place some gentlemen there who will, in these respects, at least, restore the Government to its original basis, restore to the commerce of the country the protection of the Federal Government, give us the laws which are essential to the prosperity of the industry of the country, execute that great and necessary improvement, the Pacific Railroad—re-instate the system of improvement of rivers and of harbors throughout the whole country; reorganize and re-create the Navy, which has been allowed to rot to pieces under their neglect, [applause] place the Army upon a footing that will enable it to be a nucleus around which the volunteer sons of the Republic may rally in the event of any great public necessity—sweep out from office the ducks of unclean birds that have there been nesting for the last eight years, [loud applause and cheering] and put in their places men who will honestly discharge their duties; men who will honestly devote their time to the public interest; men who will cease to strive over the matters which now divide the Democratic Party, and will allow the voice of the people, calling on the Government for the protection and aid to their industry which it requires, to be heard and answered. In my judgment that never can be, so long as the Democratic Party is allowed to remain in power. So long as the Democratic Party shall be allowed to remain in power, so long will there be nothing but one eternal howl on the negro question to keep themselves in. [Laughter.] There is no remedy for that old conflict, except turning them out, neck and heels, "to get an airing," as a Virginia friend of mine lately said—[applause]—and I take it that when they are turned out there will be a rest on that subject.

EFFORTS FOR MR. BELL.

Now, gentlemen, we in Maryland, and our political friends everywhere, are doing what in them lies to give to JOHN BELL the glory of doing this. [Applause.] We make this effort perhaps under adverse circumstances. We have encountered adverse circumstances before. We are not to be discouraged by any odds that may stand before us. We mean to cast our votes and to get our friends to cast their votes, to secure, as far as in us lies, that great result. We trust that the division of the Democratic Party may enable us to take great steps towards the accomplishment of that high purpose. [Applause.] We trust that they will be broken down in a great portion, if not in every one of the Southern States. We trust that the State organizations will be transferred from the hands of the Democratic Party to the hands of their opponents, and that again there will be an opportunity to hear the voices of Whig Senators from the South debating in the Senate as Mr. CLAY and Mr. BRECKINRIDGE debated in former days. [Applause.]

THE MERITS OF THE CANDIDATES.

FELLOW-CITIZENS: There are before the country four candidates for the Presidency. I wish to call your attention, to-night, without indulging in any bitterness towards either gentleman or either party to the public opinions of all these four gentlemen, and I crave your attention. I rise here, this night, not to add bitterness to any controversy. I will join my voice to no portion of any party, the tendency of which is to widen existing diversities, to indurate existing prejudices, to inflame existing passions, to mislead the public from the truth, in order to gain a political advantage; but, stating everything fairly and fully, I shall leave you to form your own judgment as to how far different representations are well founded, as to how far a different policy comports with the interests and peace of the Republic, as to how far partisan influences or personal ambition may have tended to mislead gentlemen, or to cause them to mislead the public. I desire to misrepresent nobody, and I shall not hesitate to state whatever can be stated, fairly and freely, to set the opinions of every one of these four gentlemen honestly and truly before you, and then, possibly, we shall be able to form a judgment of the propriety or impropriety of certain modes of conducting the canvass which I have observed in the newspapers to have become very common. [Laughter.] It has not been my fortune heretofore in this canvass to have the privilege of addressing my fellow-citizens here or elsewhere. I have been engaged in arduous public duty assigned to me by those in authority, and I have had no opportunity even to attend a political meeting elsewhere.

But I have had my eye upon the current of public affairs. I have had my ear open to the echoes of what has been said elsewhere, and whilst I allow no man to speak for me, either here or elsewhere, [loud applause.] and whilst I regard no insinuations from any quarter, [“That’s right,” “go it.”] I like-wise am never afraid to say exactly what I think upon public affairs. [Applause.] I am no boy in politics, that I should be afraid to say what I think. I am no child of yesterday that I should be frightened by popular clamor out of telling my constituents what I know to be for their good. I am not eaten up by any personal ambition that would lead me to hide, in any particular, any opinion of mine. [Great cheering.] I have met the clamor of Democrats in their highest rage, in the Hall of Representatives, when I dared to do what other men did not choose to do, [tremendous cheering.] and I am not afraid before you, my constituents, to avow that act, and to say that were it to be gone over again, I would repeat it. [Renewed cheering.] I am not afraid here, this evening, before my fellow-citizens of Baltimore, to say that I do not hesitate now to proclaim before you all, my opinions with reference to this pending controversy. If it is supposed that any amount of intimidation, or threat, or insinuation, can make me say that I am willing to make any combination with a Democrat to aid a Democrat to his election, I tell them they mistake the man. [Applause.] I will do everything that is honorable to elect John Bell; I will do nothing to prevent the defeat of a Democrat by anybody. [Great applause.] Aid the Democrats! [Derisive laughter.] So courteous! so forbearing! so respectful! so considerate of the Know-Nothing Party. [Laughter.] So ready to coalesce with the “enemies of civil and religious liberty.” [Laughter.] So ready to shake hands with “bloody midnight assassins!” [Laughter.] So content to accept our votes—so unwilling to reciprocate the compliment in the great contest of *Fox-Lee, Banks & Richardson*. [Cheers.] So truthful in their representations of my position in that great controversy! and so considerate in their expressions of opinion touching my conduct in the last great controversy! Of course, gentlemen, I am a Christian man, and I ought to coalesce with them. [Laughter.] But, no; they may get along as well as they can. I see, gentlemen, and you see everywhere in the newspapers, the “wing” of the Democratic Party led by Mr. Breckinridge, and the “wing” of the Democratic Party led by Mr. Douglas; but there is no “body” of it spoken of anywhere. These wings are good for flight but poor for battle. The claws are not there; the beak is not there. They are powerless—but the shadow of what they were. Now, “this great Caesar” in its most miserable estate, shaking with its last agony, cries out, like a sick girl: “Give me some drink, Thinius!” [laughter.] But I take it that there will be some one else who will minister to its thirst in its dying hour than myself or my political friends. [Applause.]

But, gentlemen, to come back to plain matters. Let us consider calmly the condition in which we are. Unfortunately, the great body of the opposition to the Democratic Party which concurs in every principle I have stated to you, which is in favor of every measure I have indicated as necessary to the public weal, the representatives of which have struggled through long months in Congress, shoulder to shoulder, for the purpose of accomplishing these things, have stood together in exposing the corruptions of the Administration,

and in rebuking its high functionaries by votes of the House, that great body of the Opposition, representing the great body of the once powerful and dominant Whig Party, is divided, like the Democratic Party, from top to bottom; and this is the great misfortune of the times. Whose fault is this? I shall not stop to inquire. Whose misfortune? That of all of us. There are those who seek to widen this division. There are others who know that no opposition Administration can be powerful, enduring and national, unless it combines both these elements in its support. If Mr. Lincoln shall be President, how can he carry on the Government without the support of the opposition representatives from the South in the Senate and in the lower House? If John Bell be President, how can he carry on the Government with only 23 members in the House and with two Senators to support him? Agreeing upon every measure of public policy, agreeing upon almost every vote they will be called upon to pass in either house, touching the great interests of the country, how will it be possible for either of these gentlemen to carry on the Administration with the friends of the great measure that they both must advocate, to which both are committed, in virtue of having been old Whigs as well as in virtue of their present avowals, divided between themselves? Will anybody tell me?

OBLETION OF OLD PARTY LINES.

I say, then, that if there is one thing to be struggled for more than another, it is the obliteration of the lines of demarcation; it is the bringing together men who think alike upon the great public interests of the country; it is, as far as possible, to push into the background, to silence forever, to put out of man’s view, and (if God will only allow it) the only element of distraction of a national or party character which prevents the organization of a great and powerful party which can hold the Government for a generation, if only the present causes of division can be got rid of.

There are those who wish to widen this division. My sense of public duty requires of me, first of all, to see how wide it is—whether it be a division of principle too wide to be bridged, or a division occasioned by temporary passions, and susceptible of adjustment, consistent with the honor and interest of every section. And if so then, I am for that party, really of the Union and the Constitution—a party united and powerful over the whole Republic—devoted to the interests of the whole country, which will inflict wrong, or insult on the sentiments, the feelings, the rights, or the interests of none. And I say that now, instead of attempting to excite the passions, arouse the hostility, or cast violent imputations upon one great portion of the opposition now struggling against the Democratic Party of the North, it would be wiser not to mislead the people too far, because there may be contingencies which to have misled them may be dangerous. You can easily arouse the passions of men, but when their passions are aroused it is difficult to calm them. You can easily excite the fears of men, but when their fears are excited they are not in a condition for calm conduct. You can very easily lash them into a fury, but then you cannot control them. The representations that have been going through the newspapers as to the course of the canvass in certain portions of the United States, do, in my judgment, in certain contingencies which are within the bounds of possibility, at least, as the end of this political contest, tend to create a state of feeling in the public mind which may prove beyond the control of those who have lashed it into fury.

MISREPRESENTATIONS OF THE CANVASS.

To you, my fellow-citizens, to whom I am responsible for my public conduct, and to whom I am bound to tell the whole truth touching the affairs of the country, I desire to say what I think with reference both to the individuals and the parties that are struggling for the supremacy. Yielding to none in devotion to the interests of the candidate whom my friends support, and whom I shall support earnestly, heartily and resolutely, I am determined here, as I have been resolutely in the House of Congress, never for an instant to allow myself to join in a clamor which I know to be baseless, which I believe to be dangerous to the best interests of the country—[applause]—however certain portions of the Opposition may, for local or temporary purposes, find it for their interest to exaggerate the points of diversity, to keep up the sectional temper, to blacken their political opponents with virulent abuse, to make the people of the South believe that the North is filled with John Browns, to make them believe that the Republicans are not merely a political party, differing from you as the Democrats differ from you, but that they are traitors to the Constitution, hostile to your interests, bent on servile insurrection, endeavoring to invade your State institutions and to make your families insecure and your lives a torment. That is a policy to which I will never give my assent, and against which I have struggled always. It is a misrepresentation of the condition of affairs in more than one-half of this country against which I feel called upon by my highest duty here before you this night, face to face, as I did in the House of Representatives when responding to the impertinent resolution of the Maryland Legislature—[Great applause]—to declare that they who attempt to excite those passions are doing so for no patriotic purpose. They are doing it to facilitate a party triumph. They are doing it to blacken and render hateful fellow-citizens in the eyes of their fellow-citizens. They are playing into the hands of that element of disunion which exists in the South, and which rejoices in having the chorus of “Disunion if Lincoln is elected” rung all over the South—because, if the contingency should occur, they can appeal to men’s pride and their consistency to precipitate them into a revolution. Now, I say these representations are misrepresentations of the condition of affairs in the North. What is the great point of diversity? In Congress, after the eloquent of Speaker, there was scarcely a whisper of disunion from any man, and had served his purpose and merely a whisper about

“disunion.” It would serve no purpose. On the other side, the talk among the men of the opposition from the South as well as from the North, was of the corruptions of the Government—of the necessity of a change—of the anxiety of getting somebody who could accomplish that change. Now, the tone seems to be different. What are the opinions which prevent their acting together—not that a man’s opinions are at all a criterion by which we are to be guided in voting for him or refusing to vote for him. If that were the case we never could elect a President, because there is no one with whose opinions ours concur in every particular. We must guide ourselves according to the policy we know they are going to pursue, and allow their abstract opinions to remain abstract opinions, unless they are called into active practice, and are matters directly in issue. I say that, at this moment, according to the avowal of every party not Democratic, (mark the limitation,) according to the avowal of every party excepting “the wings” of the Democratic Party, the SLAVERY QUESTION IS ABSOLUTELY SETTLED, if the Democrats will let it alone. In the language of Mr. WEBSTER, “there is not a foot of territory within the jurisdiction of the United States, the condition of which, as slave or free, is not now irrevocably settled by some law;” and, if that be the case, then there are some misrepresentations afloat which require to be corrected.

THE OPPOSING DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES.

First, gentlemen, what are the opinions of the opposing candidates—Mr. BRECKINRIDGE, Mr. DOUGLASS, and Mr. LINCOLN, upon this great question? Fortunately, the gentleman who prepared the address of the Union Party—my personal and political friend, Mr. BOTELER, of Virginia, than whom there is no sounder Whig, no more chivalrous gentleman, no more earnest friend of John Bell, no more pertinacious, undying enemy of the Democratic Party existing [applause]—has, in one portion of that admirable address, used these words: “The more conservative portion of the Republican Party have tacitly acquiesced in the Fugitive Slave law, in the existence of Slavery in the District of Columbia, and in the right to carry slaves from one State to another.” That indicated that the whole of that wide field is covered and out of controversy. You are safe, then, at home. You are safe in carrying, if you choose to carry, your slaves to Mississippi to sell them. You are safe from the example of freedom in the District of Columbia. There is nothing of that kind open at all. When he said they “had acquiesced in the Fugitive Slave law,” he did not state it strongly enough, because the statements last Winter in the House from Mr. CORWIS and others, including Mr. LINCOLN himself, are, that it must be executed “not grudgingly, but fully and honestly.” [Applause.] Does anybody take the trouble to repeat these sentiments when talking about politics before the people of Maryland?

Then my friend, Mr. BOTELER, proceeds in another sentence to say this: “At this moment no one will question the statement that there is not a foot of the territory of the United States, the condition of which, in reference to Slavery, is not already fixed by law, and there is no place within the Federal domain upon which the abstract theories of the extremists of either section, in regard to the exclusion of Slavery from the Territories, or its introduction into them, can be practically applied.”

That is what I have been saying before you, people of the Fourth Congressional District, for five long years—that there is no question now upon except such as the Democrats may see fit to open—that the way to settle the slavery question is to be silent on it—and it is greatly to be regretted (with me it is a matter of profound regret)—that my friend, Mr. BOTELER, in the residue of that document, should have allowed himself to go into a discussion as to the responsibility for the opening of that question, and to lay it, perhaps, at certain doors where it was not altogether justly due. But, taking this starting point, that it is a question as to abstractions, that there is none of our territory to which mere theories are required to be applied, does not that at once end the whole matter? Is it not, of itself, an absolute confession that there is no ground for the imputation on the people of the North in general, that there is no ground for fear in the event of Mr. LINCOLN’s succeeding in lieu of Mr. BELL, that there is no fear of a dissolution of the Union by reason of anything either of these gentlemen may do if they happen to get possession of the Government? Is it not distinctly the confession of that statement that, in reference to all the substantial questions I have indicated, there is an absolute concurrence? In reference to the others in the Territories, they are questions of abstractions. I could not have my own opinion more felicitously, more accurately, or from a more authoritative source, stated for the information of my constituents and of the country.

RESULT OF MR. BRECKINRIDGE’S ELECTION.

Now, what are the individual opinions of the gen-

men who are before the country for the votes of the people? First, for Mr. BRACKINRIDGE. We all know that he is the seceding candidate of the Democratic Party. We all know that his friends seceded because of an inability to agree upon the slavery question. We find him and Mr. DOUGLAS equally the victims of that element of distraction which they first broke up the Whig Party, then severed and broke up the American Party, and to which they themselves, by a righteous judgment, have at last fallen victims. [Cheers.] What are Mr. BRACKINRIDGE's opinions? The most extreme, untenable and dangerous of all; yet the people, half of them, are afraid to controvert them. He maintains that the Constitution, of itself, carries slavery into all the Territories; that under it, any person has a right to carry his slaves there without any law, and that laws must be passed by Congress, as they become needful, for the purpose of protecting it. The result, therefore, of the election of Mr. BRACKINRIDGE is that there will be a perpetual struggle in the Congress of the United States, by persons who desire to carry negroes into the Territories, and do not wish to do so until they are protected by law, to secure the adoption of enactments by Congress to protect them there. There is not the remotest probability that such a law can be passed through both Houses of Congress. It is, therefore, in its very statement, an element of perpetual discord, of perpetual strife, of perpetual alienation, perpetually tending to widen still further apart the two portions of the Union, until possibly, on some great and fatal day, a dissolution may follow, in the heated state of the public mind, under some casualty of the moment.

MR. DOUGLAS AND HIS OPINIONS.

What are Mr. DOUGLAS' opinions? They have been variously stated by himself in his wide circuit through the country; yet I take it that for its purpose there cannot be any great difficulty in describing them with accuracy. I desire to do him no injustice; I desire to do Mr. BRACKINRIDGE no injustice. I merely wish to inform my constituents of some of the things which politicians try to conceal. Mr. DOUGLAS has shown with great emphasis and great point lately in a speech that the Constitution does not carry slavery into the Territories, for if the Constitution carried slavery into the Territories, of course it would be beyond the control of the people of the Territories, exactly as any provision of the Constitution applicable to a State is beyond the control of the people of the State. But Mr. DOUGLAS' opinion is that the inhabitants of a Territory have themselves the absolute right to introduce and allow slavery if they see fit, or to prohibit and exclude it if they see fit. As to the point whether they have this power by reason of some inherent right, or by reason of the acts of Congress organizing the Territories, his language is doubtful; the other, at any rate, he contends that they may pass what laws they please in reference to slavery, and may make their domestic institutions to suit themselves.

The great struggle in the Democratic Party, and that in which it has gone to pieces in the great storm, is, which of these two opinions is the orthodox doctrine of the party. Now, whilst I am very unwilling to decide questions of party history, or of party law for the Democrats, I rather fear that my friend, Mr. DOUGLAS, has the letter of his antagonist on the question of political history. I rather fear that he is not merely the regular nominee of the Democratic Party, but that he is likewise the representative of the regular Democratic opinion. I rather think that if there has been a change the change has been from him, and not by him from his companions. I rather think that in his great speech in the Senate towards the end of the last session, he arrayed an amount of authority which ought to have satisfied, or, at least, tempted strongly to satisfy my mind, and, probably, did satisfy many others, that under the ambiguous phrase, "non-intervention," was couched the very dogma that he himself proclaimed. And, certainly, it looked as if he rather had his enemies on the hip when he quoted the language of the Kansas-Nebraska act, "it being the true intent and meaning of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory, nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the people thereof perfectly free to regulate their domestic institutions in their own way, subject only to the Constitution of the United States." I take it that these words will scarcely bear any other interpretation than that the people of a Territory, before they become a State, have a right, according to the views of the gentlemen who drew and passed that act, to introduce or exclude slavery. I rather think that he had the "Old Public Functionary" on the hip, when he went further, and quoted from his letter of 1850, in which he said that the people of a Territory, like the people of a State, have a right to regulate the question of slavery for themselves. [Applause.] Whatever may be the truth between these two divisions of the Democratic Party, I do not desire to cast any more confusion into their midst than there is now. [Laughter.] I do not know how they will ever be able to solve the great problem as to what are their opinions, unless they shall bring an action in Judge TANEY's Court on a wager, carry it to the Supreme Court, and have it decided there; [laughter.] or, if the spoils should be ever divided again there should be a suit brought it equally to determine which of the two portions is the real seceder, and which is entitled to the whole of the property. [Laughter.] That is a problem that I do not mean to touch; it is a controversy in which I have no interest; the further and more bitterly it is waged, the better, probably, for the country. But there is at least one good and patriotic thing that Judge DOUGLAS has done in his life. Having lent himself to the extreme Southern portion of his party to do their work, when his time came they would not lend themselves to him; they thought they had been dealing with a master, and so they determined to break him. He reciprocated the compliment by breaking up the Democratic Party. ["Good," and cheers and laughter.] There is another good thing that he has done. The doctrine of

Mr. BRACKINRIDGE, to which I have referred, resists. It is claimed, upon the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dred Scott case, although Mr. REVERDY JOHNSON, who argued that case, said that really the Supreme Court never passed upon any such question, and it is difficult for any one who knows anything about the legal points really involved in the record before the Court, to surmise how it was possible for them ever to have gotten at it. Yet this theory, bolstered up by the perpetual assertions of political men, has been adopted by the great body of the Democratic Party at the South, and some of our own friends are gradually gliding into it, until, I suppose, it will come after a while to be a great piece of treason to the South, a great invasion of Southern rights, something dangerous to her internal condition, to venture to moot a question which is only ten years old, and to say that you do not believe in any such legal absurdity as the Constitution (which says nothing about slavery in the Territories) having extended it to the Territories, an opinion as absurd as that Congress cannot establish slavery in a Territory if it see fit. The Democratic Party has lived upon its boasted orthodoxy for the last 20 years. It has been "out at the elbows" in everything else. Its reputation is all gone for everything except boldness and audacity, but by holding itself out as the special protector of Southern institutions it has been enabled to stand so long upon its legs. It has ever asserted its own exclusive orthodoxy, always putting up the most extreme and untenable pretensions, and always sneering everybody else over with the brush of Abolitionism who did not see fit to agree with it. Did anybody happen to quote the resolutions of the Legislature of Ohio, or the nice family quarrel between the Harbors and Softs of New-York, or any other of the wranglings and diversities in the Free States, over this doctrine, "so difficult to be received and hard to be understood," by Northern men, he was told: "You must not pretend to discuss differences in the Democratic Party; it is one and indivisible." [Laughter.] Judge DOUGLAS has done this patriotic service:—he has carried from Maryland to Louisiana, through every Slave State, the elements of division upon that new dogma, and when it is attempted to assail others for expressing their opinions upon the slavery question, who avow that they hold, as I avow that I hold, all the opinions of HENRY CLAY—[applause]—a little out of fashion in diverse particulars in this day, but I am getting to be old-fashioned now—they cannot turn and say "you are an Abolitionist, and the United Democratic Party is the only one that is faithful to the South," because in every neighborhood, in every town, in every parish, in every county, rises up the friend of STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS and says: "The Constitution does not carry slavery into the Territories, but the people have a right to exclude it if they choose." [Applause.] It is no longer treason to say that, for their own men say it; and now, in the Commonwealth of Virginia the Breckinridge men are on their knees to the Douglas men: "Oh, don't divide and give the State to BELL!" [Applause and laughter.] The Governor of the State, holding all the powers of the State, the man who must call out the Virginia Militia to arrest the march of United States troops, in case of a rebellion further South, is tainted with the heresy of Douglasism. [Laughter.] They have ceased to be powerful; they have ceased to be dangerous; there is again freedom of opinion; men can speak above their breath; men can read history and repeat it without the fear of being tarred and feathered in any neighborhood in the South. [Applause.] If Mr. DOUGLAS shall never do anything more than that—if he shall fail to be elevated at any future period to that glittering height which is the object of his ambition, I desire to say future generations will owe him a debt of gratitude for having, in the course of the internecine struggles of the Democratic Party, and perhaps without meaning it, but from the necessities of the case, been instrumental in restoring free speech, free opinion, and a right to think as the fathers thought upon the Constitution of the United States, though he does not think with them. [Cheers.]

MR. BELL'S OPINIONS.

Now, what are Mr. BELL's opinions on these subjects? He avows, like an honest man, his opinions, and they substantially concur, as a matter of abstract opinion, with those of Mr. BRACKINRIDGE. That is, he thinks that, without a law of Congress, under the Constitution, there is a right to take slaves into the Territories; but he differs from Mr. BRACKINRIDGE in this, that he has been nominated by a party calling itself the "Constitutional Union Party," and that party proclaims itself, in its address, from which I have read to you, an enemy of slavery agitation, in favor of things remaining as they are, opposed to any further legislation, for the doctrine that I have so often inculcated in your hearing, of silence upon the negro question; let it die the death, (they say,) let the Territories remain as they are; let there be no effort to change their condition, and there can be no controversy. That is a position which a gentleman

holding any abstract opinion whatever may very well come up to, and that is the opinion which the brief and pointed platform of the Constitutional Union Party assigns to both its candidates, wholly irrespective of what their individual opinions may be. They are what Mr. BELL, in his address, most appropriately terms mere abstractions—abstract opinions that the times do not call into application, by an attempt to put them in practice and change the existing condition of the Territories; and if I understand the opinion of all the gentlemen who, with myself, advocate the election of Mr. BELL, it is that he may silence that controversy and not reopen it; leave things as they are, not attempt to vary them. If that be not the view with which he was nominated, it is that he be not the purpose of his friends, then it would be the most pitiable farce, and I should be the last man in the world to ask anyone here to vote for JOHN BELL as the person who was going to quiet the slavery question. It cannot be quiet as long as there is an effort to change anything, for that raises the question when anybody proposes that anything in the territories, no matter what it may be, no matter for which it may operate or against whom it may operate, should be otherwise than it is, that instant he opens the controversy, and when the controversy is opened, no one knows where or how it will be ended. Next, with reference to Mr. EVERETT. He holds, or did hold in former days, opinions upon exactly the other extreme. You remember that Mr. FITZWATER was impeached of Abolitionism, because at a former time, when a candidate for Congress, he had declared himself in favor of the abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia; and yet, in spite of that, because men knew what his policy would be, the people elected him Vice-President, and all the people rose up to do him honor when he passed out from the discharge of the duties of his high office. That is only another illustration of how false a guide mere constitutional opinions are when you are selecting a President. The question is never what he may think as a question of law, but what he will do as an administrator of the law. [Applause.] There cannot be a more striking example of that than in the case of Mr. EVERETT, one of the most distinguished, patriotic, conservative and moderate men in the United States, perfectly orthodox in his old Whig policy and principle, having filled some of the high stations of the nation, and now not perhaps without a prospect of sitting many years ago, I think by Gen. HARRISON, as Minister to England. It appeared, as well as I remember the circumstances, that he had previously been a candidate for some office in Massachusetts, and there he had questions thrust at him, to which in the heat of the canvass he responded, and it seemed that he avowed himself in favor of abolishing the slave-trade between the States; of the immediate abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia, and against the admission of any more Slave States. Now-a-days people would open their eyes with horror at the mere mention of opinions like these, and in that day they wanted to injure that great and distinguished man because he entertained these opinions, and the action of the Georgia Legislature was invoked because Mr. BARKER had voted for his confirmation. Now EDWARD EVERETT is the candidate of the Constitutional Union Party for the purpose of stopping agitation on the slavery question, [applause], and in my judgment they could have got no better candidate in the United States. [Great applause.] I say that a man's abstract opinions have little or nothing to do with his discharge of the high functions of either President or Vice-President, and when they are invoked by political partisans, they are invoked to distract the mind, to divide their opponents, to draw off votes, to enable themselves to elect some person of less position without expressed opinions by the prejudices that they excite, by quotations of antiquated opinions, or opinions intended for another era, applicable to a different combination of circumstances, having no relation to those things that are now to be done, and, therefore, impertinences so far as the political canvass is concerned; we are to be prevented from voting for Mr. EVERETT, because some Democratic orator, down in the slaveholding counties, may take up that question, and the response, and say: "You are voting for an Abolitionist." I have seen the day when men who were Whigs were fools enough to be frightened at that howl. I take it that now they have learned it is merely a howl, and nothing else, and treat it accordingly. [Applause.] Both Mr. EVERETT and Mr. BELL, by virtue of the simple declaration that they are in favor of the Constitution, the Union, and the enforcement of the laws, have pledged themselves to silence, to quiet, to leaving things as they are, to the faithful and honest execution of every law—and from such men, in these days, this is ample. It is unpopular to go back into the history of any man who has filled public station in the country for twenty years, and not find that in the sharp struggles of parties here he has uttered an obnoxious sentiment, that there he has been guilty of an imprudent or an unpopular vote; that here he has answered a question thrust at him in the heat of a canvass, which, pushed to its logical consequences, would involve great evils. If you allow yourselves to be misled by that style of canvassing, you will strip the country of the services of nine out of every ten of its best men; confine it to people who have been so insignificant that they have never been called upon to make a declaration upon any great controverted question, who have all the time been skulking along, endeavoring to get upon the popular side for the time being—eschewing pen, ink, paper and printing as if they were the inventions of Mephistopheles, and trusting by their very insignificance to worm themselves up into high station, as I have seen in the Presidential chair, even to the Presidential chair. It is this sheer cowardice, this fear to take gentlemen upon their courage and their conduct, and not upon their expressions and their abstract opinions, that has driven great men from the Presidential chair. It is because gentlemen are afraid of being turned out of Congress—are afraid of being hissed for making the avowal of obnoxious opinions—that you have weak men in public

life, and that the race of great men has gone to the grave. [Applause.]

MR. LINCOLN'S OPINIONS.

Well, now, what are the opinions of Mr. LINCOLN? Let us meet the question right in the eye. What are the opinions of Mr. LINCOLN?—because there are certain parties in the country who say that if he is elected they will dissolve the Union. I do not assert that all Mr. BRUCE's friends say so. I believe that the vast majority of them have no such idea. I believe that very many of them who say so, would not attempt it when the time came. [Laughter.] I believe in the "sober second thought;" I believe that the difficulties of the practical execution, that horror at shedding blood, would make the boldest pause. I do not fear the result. I am confident that Mr. BRUCE himself entertains no such view and countenances no such policy.

NO DANGER OF DISSOLUTION.

I am not here to misrepresent any political antagonist. I am not here to sow dissension between any regions of the country. I merely say that there are parties who declare that that event will be cause for a dissolution of the Union, and that declaration on their part is made the pretext of an echo from other quarters, that if LINCOLN be elected such will be the result. Now, I say that will not be the result, and in my judgment it will not be tried; not since it is said that in that event they are going to take steps, at least, to break up the Confederacy. Let us see upon what ground they are going to do it. Mr. BUTLER says in his address, in the most authoritative manner, that on the really great questions among the conservative portions of the Republican Party there is an acquiescence in what we suppose to be essential to our safety—the right of Slave-trade between the States, the right to continue Slavery in the District of Columbia and the execution of the Fugitive Slave Law. What else is open? Nothing, literally nothing—excepting the mere condition of the Territories. Then what now is the condition of the Territories? Absolutely free in point of fact—no slaves in them—remaining as they were at the time of the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in spite of that repeal—remaining as free from Slavery as if that Compromise had never been repealed. What is there to change? From the extremist point of view, nothing. It is only with reference to the question of Slavery in the Territories that we are told by the address from the National Committee of the Union Party, that there is a controversy open, and as to them it is said that the controversy is a controversy of abstractions. But it can be stated stronger than that. So far as the opinion of Mr. LINCOLN and his friends go, the Territories are in the exact condition in which they want to keep them. They say, "Let the subject alone and they will have nothing to say. If you attempt to carry Slavery there we will attempt to exclude it; if you attempt to extend it we will oppose the extension; if you attempt to plant Slavery in territory which we think is now free we not only will not vote with you but we will vote against you, and we will use the power of the Government for the purpose of keeping it where it is."

LEGISLATION ON SLAVERY UNNECESSARY.

It is not necessary, even if it was their design, now to propose the passage of any law on the subject of Slavery at all. The Territories are practically in the exact condition that they were when Mr. CLAY introduced his great Compromise bill, which was the foundation of peace until the controversy was reopened by the Democrats in 1854. The condition of the Territories remains as it was when Mr. CLAY had his bills passed, saying not one word on the subject of Slavery nor resting upon his resolutions. What were his resolutions? The second of the resolutions which Mr. CLAY brought into the Senate on that great occasion, in 1850, runs in this wise—(I pray you, gentlemen, be not shocked because I tell you that Mr. CLAY held some old-fashioned notions)—but this resolution was the foundation of the legislation of that day, it was attacked by extreme Southern men in the Senate. It was denounced as being no compromise at all. But it was the view on which great men, such as Mr. BEXON on the one side, and Mr. CLAY and Mr. WEBSTER on the other, concurred for the settlement of the territorial difficulties, and therefore it bears a historic significance, even beyond the vast authority of the name of the man who reported it. It runs in this wise:

"That as Slavery does not exist by law, and is not likely to be introduced into any Territory acquired by the United States from the Republic of Mexico, it is inexpedient for Congress to provide by law either for its introduction or exclusion from any part of said Territory."

Silence upon the Slavery question—leaving the Territory, and nothing more, as it was. That was the great wisdom of that compromise. [Applause.] There, you see what Mr. CLAY thought. He thought Slavery did not exist there, because the laws of Mexico ex-

cluded it. The Missouri Compromise of 1820 excluded it from all the residue of the Territory. It was on that basis, coupled with the unfitness of the country for slave labor, even if the laws did not exclude it, that Mr. WEBSTER made the great declaration that there was an irrepealable law of one kind or another which forever settled the condition as to Slavery of every foot of territory in the United States.

THE POSITION OF CLAY AND LINCOLN IDENTICAL.

Now, gentlemen, what ABRAHAM LINCOLN thinks is what Mr. CLAY thought with reference to Slavery—the condition of the Territory, that it is free. It is, therefore, needless to pass any law upon the subject. He thinks it is true, and so do a great many others, who hear Mr. CLAY's memory in high esteem—not with Mr. DICKENS, that a bunch of squatters, congregated under a bush, can pass a law to determine the condition for you and me—not that the great National Legislature, which, under the Constitution, has the power to make all needful rules and regulations concerning the Territory, has the power, if it see fit, to exclude or to admit Slavery in any Territory, and that, in the absence of a statute, there is no law to authorize it; and then Slavery can no more exist than a man can exist without air to breathe. Here is the language of Mr. CLAY upon that subject—that it is an evil, and ought not to be extended voluntarily; and then, again, touching the power:

"I am extremely sorry to hear the gentleman from Mississippi say that he requires, first, the extension of the Missouri Compromise line to the Pacific, and also, that he is not satisfied with that, but requires, if I understood him correctly, a positive provision for the admission of Slavery south of that line. And now, Sir, coming from a Slave State, as I do, I owe it to myself, I owe it to truth, I owe it to the subject, to say that unworthily I would not induce me to vote for a specific measure for the introduction of Slavery where it had not before existed, either north or south of that line. Coming as I do from a Slave State, it is my solemn, deliberate, and well-matured determination that no power, no earthly power, shall ever induce me to vote for the positive introduction of Slavery either south or north of that line. Sir, while you reproach, and assert too, our British ancestors for the introduction of this institution upon the continent of America, I am unwilling that the posterity of the present inhabitants of California and of New-Mexico shall reproach us for doing what we reproach Great Britain for doing to us. If the citizens of these Territories choose to establish Slavery, and if they come here with constitutions establishing Slavery, I am for admitting them with such provisions in their constitutions; but then it will be their own work, and not ours; and their posterity will have to reproach them, and not us, for forming constitutions, allowing the institution of Slavery to exist among them. These are my views, Sir, and I choose to express them, and I care not how extensively or universally they are known. The honorable Senator from Virginia has expressed his opinion that Slavery exists in these Territories, and I have no doubt that opinion is sincerely and honestly entertained by him; and I would say, with equal sincerity and honesty, that I believe that Slavery nowhere exists within any portion of the territory acquired by us from Mexico. He holds a directly contrary opinion to mine, as he has a perfect right to do; and we will not quarrel about that difference of opinion."—*Congressional Globe*, 1st sess., 31st Congress, 1:49-50, page 349.

EFFECT OF THROWING THE ELECTION INTO THE HOUSE.

If, continued Mr. DAVIS, the election went into the House of Representatives, it would, in his judgment, be accompanied by such scenes of violence and tumult as possibly men of much greater firmness than he had might desire to encounter, but from which he prayed God would preserve him. He thought that there would be no election in the House. Mr. BELL certainly could not be elected because of the diversities of parties. If Mr. LANE went before the Senate, the Democratic majority there would cheerfully elect him. If Mr. EVERETT went to the Senate, said confiding New-Yorkers, he would be elected by the conservative Democratic Senators. But did any one expect that the Democracy would elect Mr. EVERETT? He would go anywhere for honesty but to the New-York Stock Exchange. In the Senate the Democrats had the game in their own hands. He should rejoice in Mr. EVERETT's election, but he had no faith in their liberality or in the Democratic Party. But suppose they did not make an election of either Mr. LANE or Mr. EVERETT? But wait till the 4th of March, and make an interregnum of a year in the Presidential office—who would tell him what might occur during that period? Or perhaps they would elect Mr. BRUCE as President of the Senate after the 4th of March, and then, by a law of questionable construction, treat him as President of the United States. He was not for rushing on such casualties. He was not for a conspiracy of a few politicians in a corner in one State of the Union to adjourn their personal difficulties and their personal hatreds into the halls of Congress. He, therefore, entered his most emphatic protest against any such style of electioneering. It was none of his business in New-York. He was not called upon to sell himself with its contact, and therefore he had nothing more to say of it except that it was between themselves. Let them go on, but it was not the style in Maryland of conducting a canvass. If he might be allowed to quote words which he had heard in a sacred place from a very eloquent gentleman, Mr. STODOLSKY, whom many of them doubtless had heard in the pulpit in Baltimore, he would say of the people here in this country, and of its parties, especially of that great opposition party which was now rent into fragments that were struggling together—he would say of it as Mr. STODOLSKY said of the Christian religion, that the vase in which the precious spirit of Christianity was held had been broken by sectarian strife into so many pieces that not only was its beauty marred and gone, and its priceless essence poured out and lost, but that he who, on a mission of love, attempted to collect its fragments and put them together, was in danger, in the attempt to reconstruct the vase, to cut his fingers. [Applause.] It was the danger, the sickness, the disease of the times, and, instead of attempting to cure it, men who ought to know better were striving to aggravate it. A patient is in fever, and they wrap him up in blankets; he is in fever, and they dose him with strong drinks and

fire-water, and they call that curing him. There was a degree of timidity in all this matter, that in his (Mr. DAVIS) opinion was most dangerous to our political life. Half the blood that was shed in the French Revolution was shed from sheer terror—sheer terror that made them cut their neighbors' throats the day before, for fear their own should be cut the next day. That was the state of mind some men were trying to get the people of the United States into, and he lifted his voice against it. There was a timidity on the part of the Democratic Party to meet the patriotic masses squarely in the eye. It only required that there should be energy, and then the day was theirs.

SMITING THE DEMOCRACY.

GIBSON told us that as Christianity progressed till it had spread as far as Egypt, and came to be the predominant religion, the desire arose to strike down the idols. The iconoclastic fever raged. There was one great image of Serapis in the temple at Alexandria, round whose brow the tradition hung that when it was destroyed the world would crumble to dust; and the Christians stood in awe before that heathen tradition, until a bold mason, more vigorous and resolute than the others, seized a hatchet, ascended a ladder, and smote the cheek of the idol repeatedly, until it fell, piece by piece, to the ground. The trembling multitude soon expected to see the Heavens fall, and the earth to vanish beneath their feet; but as the minutes passed and the hours rolled on they began to see that the prophet was worthy of the idol. I take it that they who smite the Democratic Party will find that no disaster will come of its death.

Mr. DAVIS concluded amid vehement cheering, and retired immediately.

The vast assemblage then broke up.

There was the once familiar grace,
The old enchanting smile was there;
Still shone around his handsome face
The glory of his hair.

But the pure beauty that I knew
Had lowered through some ignoble task;
Apollo's head was peering through
A drunken bacchant's mask.

The smile, once honest as the day,
Now waked to words of grossest wit;
The eyes, so simply frank and gay,
With lawless fires were lit.

He was the idol of the board—
He led the careless, wanton throng—
The soul that once to heaven had soared
Now groveled in a song.

He wildly flung his wit away
In small retort, in verbal brawls,
And played with words as jugglers play
With hollow brazen balls.

But often when the laugh was loud,
And highest gleamed the circling bowl,
I saw what unseen passed the crowd—
The shadow on his soul.

And soon the enigma was unlocked;
The harrowing history I heard—
The sacred duties that he mocked,
The forfeiture of word.

And how he did his love a wrong—
His wild remorse—his mad career—
And now—Ah! hearken to that song,
And hark the answering cheer!

III.

Thus musing sadly on the law
That lets such brilliant meteors quench,
Down the dark path a form I saw
Uprising from a bench.

Ragged and pale, in strident tones
It asked for alms—I knew for what;
The tremor shivering through its bones
Was eloquent of the sot.

It begged, it prayed, it whined, it cried,
It followed with a shuffling tramp—
It would not, could not be denied,
I turned beneath a lamp.

It clutched the coins I gave, and fled
With muttered words of horrid glee,
When, like the white returning dead,
A vision rose to me.

A nameless something in its air,
A sudden gesture as it moved—
'Twas he, the gay, the debonnaire!
'Twas he, the boy I loved!

And while along the lonesome Park
The eager drunkard sped afar,
I looked to heaven, and through the dark
I saw a falling star!

Monthly Record of Current Events.

THE most notable feature in the Presidential canvass, now drawing to a close, is the attempt in New York to unite upon one common electoral ticket all the opponents of the Republicans. As noticed in our last Record, the supporters of Messrs. Douglas and Bell had formed a common ticket, while those of Mr. Breckinridge made independent nominations. Negotiations for a fusion of these two tickets were entered upon between the two Democratic State Committees; but they were unsuccessful. A committee composed of leading citizens was then organized, by whom an electoral ticket was formed, embracing the names of the ten Bell electors, and substituting those of seven Breckinridge men in the place of an equal number of Douglas men, who resigned the nomination. The "Fusion ticket" in New York now consists of eighteen supporters of Mr. Douglas, ten of Mr. Bell, and seven of Mr. Breckinridge. In the other Northern States, with the possible exception of Pennsylvania, there is little prospect of any fusion between the two sections of the Democratic party.—Mr. Douglas, after speaking in Virginia and North Carolina, and again in Pennsylvania and New York, proceeded to canvass the West. Apart from his continued advocacy of his doctrine of "Popular Sovereignty," the main point in his recent speeches is his reply to the question originally proposed at Norfolk, Virginia, Whether

the election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency would afford a just cause for the secession of the South? At a great mass meeting held in "Jones's Woods" near New York, September 12, which was addressed by himself, Mr. Johnson, a candidate for the Vice-Presidency, and Hon. Mr. Morehead, of Kentucky, he answered this question thus: "I was asked at Norfolk, Virginia, and in other places, whether, in the event any Southern State should secede from this Union when Lincoln was elected, I would go for the enforcement of the laws of the Union. I tell you, as I told them, that whoever is President, is bound by his oath to carry the laws into faithful execution. I also tell you that it is the duty of every law-abiding man, I care not what may be his politics, to aid in the execution of the laws. Hence, if Lincoln should be elected—which God in his mercy forbid—he must be inaugurated according to the Constitution and laws of his country. And I, as his firmest, and strougest, irreconcilable opponent, will sustain him in the exercise of every Constitutional function." Upon the question of "fusion" he said: "I do not charge all the Breckinridge men in the United States with being disunionists. I do not charge Mr. Breckinridge himself with being a disunionist. But I do express my firm conviction that there is not a disunionist in America who is not a Breckinridge man. . . . I am in favor of a

cordial union of every Union man, every Constitutional man, every man who desires the preservation of the laws in every and all contingencies. If Mr. Breckinridge is in favor of enforcing the laws against disunionists, seceders, abolitionists, and all other classes of men, in the event that the election does not result to suit him, then I am willing; but I am utterly opposed to any union or any fusion with any man or any party who will not enforce the laws, maintain the Constitution, and preserve the Union in all contingencies. . . . Believing that this Union is in danger, I will make any personal sacrifice to preserve it. If the withdrawal of my name would tend to defeat Mr. Lincoln, I would this moment withdraw it; more especially if such an act of mine would insure the election of a man pledged to the Constitution, the Union, and the enforcement of the laws."—Mr. Seward has been vigorously canvassing the Northwestern States, making elaborate speeches in favor of Republican principles, and predicting their speedy triumph.

The State elections in *Vermont* and *Maine* have resulted in favor of the Republicans. In *Vermont* their candidate for Governor has about 22,000 majority; in *Maine* about 16,000. In both States they elect their entire Congressional ticket, and have a large majority in both branches of the State Legislatures.—The Prince of Wales, after completing his tour through the British Provinces, arrived at *Detroit* on the 21st of September, and thence proceeded, by the way of *Chicago*, *St. Louis*, *Cincinnati*, and *Baltimore*, to *Washington*, where he arrived on the 3d. He remained the guest of the President until the 7th, visiting *Mount Vernon* in the interval. He then visited *Richmond*, and proceeded to *Philadelphia* on his way to *New York*. Every where in the United States he has been most cordially received.—On the night of the 7th of September the steamer *Lady Elgin*, plying on *Lakes Michigan* and *Superior*, was run into by the schooner *Augusta*. The steamer sunk in a few minutes. Of about 400 persons on board less than 100 were saved. Among the lost were Mr. Lumsden, one of the editors of the *New Orleans Picayune*, and *Herbert Ingram*, member of the British Parliament, and the proprietor of the *London Illustrated News*.—The ship *Erie*, belonging to *New York*, was captured near the African coast by the United States steamer *Mohican*. The *Erie* had on board 897 slaves. Of these 860 were landed at *Monrovia*, in *Liberia*, the remainder having died on the upward passage.

The career of *William Walker* has reached its close. Making a descent upon *Honduras*, he took possession of *Truxillo*, as noted last month. Captain *Salmon* of the British war steamer *Icarus* demanded that he should give up the town, on the ground that the British Government had claims upon the receipts of the custom-house. Walker, on the night of the 21st of August, abandoned *Truxillo*, leaving his sick behind, and with 80 men retired down the coast, followed by a body of *Hondurans*, whose attacks were repulsed. On the 30th of September he was overtaken by General *Alvarez*, who was accompanied by the Captain of the *Icarus*, at the head of a considerable body of troops. Walker and his men surrendered without resistance. Walker and his second in command, Colonel *Rudler*, were delivered to the authorities of *Honduras*, but the remainder of the party were sent back to the United States. Walker was brought to trial on the 11th, condemned, and shot on the following day. Rudler was sentenced to four years' imprisonment.

ITALY.

Thus far the career of *Garibaldi* in Italy has been one of almost uninterrupted success. After completing the expulsion of the Neapolitan troops from *Sicily*, about the middle of August he commenced sending troops in several small detachments across the straits, who effected their landing, with little opposition, in *Calabria*. He himself, with 4000 men, landed at *Reggio*, on the 19th. Some skirmishes of no importance occurred; but there was no decided opposition made to his advance upon *Naples*. As he approached the city, the King withdrew with his army, assigning as a reason his wish to spare his "beloved capital" the horrors of a siege. *Garibaldi* entered *Naples* on the 7th of September. A Provisional Government was organized at once, the members of which took the oath of allegiance to *Victor Emanuel*, King of Italy, and the Neapolitan fleet was added to his squadron, commanded by Admiral *Persano*. Meanwhile, the King of *Naples*, who had retired with his army of 30,000 men to *Capua*, announces his determination not to surrender his crown without a vigorous struggle, and calls upon his troops to support him. The brilliant successes of *Garibaldi* seem now in danger of being neutralized by a want of concord between him and the Sardinian Government. Though nominally acting in behalf of *Victor Emanuel*, he seems inclined to act mainly upon his own responsibility, disregarding the more cautious plans of Count *Cavour*, the able Sardinian minister, against whom he has assumed an attitude of decided hostility. As far as can be judged from his proclamations, he seems resolved to overthrow the papal power in the States of the Church, and to drive the Austrians from *Venetia*—an enterprise which *Louis Napoleon*, wielding the whole power of the Empire of France, thought too hazardous to attempt: and only when these objects have been accomplished, to establish a kingdom of Italy. It is, in fact, asserted that he is gradually coming under the influence of the "Red Republican" party of *Mazzini*.—In the meanwhile the relations of the Papal dominions to the other parts of Italy are becoming more complicated. The Sardinian Government forwarded a dispatch to that of the Pope, protesting against the maintenance of foreign legions, demanding their dismissal, and threatening armed interference in case these troops interfered to prevent the free expression of opinion in the States of the Church. The Papal Government refused compliance with these demands, and a Sardinian army was sent into *Umbria* and the *Marches*. These were attacked at *Castelfidardo* by the Papal troops, commanded by General *Lamoriciere*. The Papal troops were defeated, with considerable loss, by the Sardinians under General *Cialdini*, and *Aucona*, whither *Lamoriciere* had retreated, was besieged. *Victor Emanuel*, while making war upon the Papal army, professes a profound respect for the rights of the Pope. In his proclamation to his army he says: "You enter the *Marches* and *Umbria* to restore civil order in desolated towns, to give the people liberty to express their own wishes. You have not to fight powerful armies; but only to deliver unhappy Italian provinces from the presence of foreign invaders. . . . I intend to respect the throne of the Chief of the Church, to whom I am always ready to give, in concert with the allied and friendly powers, all those guarantees of independence and security which his blind advisers have in vain hoped from the fanaticism of the perverse sect which conspires against my authority and the liberty of the nation."

